

DECEMBER, 1882.

Christmas.

By G. B. LEATHOM.

HE various associations of Christmas have been so frequently discussed that the subject might fairly be supposed to be exhausted, and yet

there are many points of interest which still need investigation, and in continuation of the project commenced this year, it will be well to place some of these before our readers. We propose to touch upon these points in

the following pages.

The festival of the birth of Christ was celebrated by different communities of the early Christians at various periods of the year, and it was not until the fourth century that the present season was definitely fixed upon. This is said to have been the act of Julius I., Pope of Rome, A.D. 337-352. There can be no doubt that the end of December does not represent the true anniversary, and there is reason to believe that the celebration was transferred from the last month of the Jewish year, when the birth was known to have taken place, to the last month of the Christian

We have already alluded in the article on Martinmas to the supposed connection between the mass or feast days and the service of the mass, and we must again make a passing allusion to it here, noting at the same time that we are sadly in want of more historical light on the point. The philologists have settled it that the one is derived from the other, but they await corroborative evidence from history. Surely evidence, either corroborative or the reverse, must be available somewhere if we could only get a

It is curious that, although the Saxons used the word mas so largely for the feast days, the chief of all does not appear to have VOL. VI.

been at all generally called Christmas until after the Norman Conquest. The name for the natural occurrence of the winter solstice, "Midwinter," or the term applied to the Pagan celebration of it, viz., "Yule," were generally applied to Christmas after the conversion of the Saxons to Christianity. In the Saxon Chronicle we almost invariably read of "midwinter," but in and after A.D. 1001 we meet with "Cristes mæsse." It still, however, remains a point worthy of consideration whether the Midwinter Day of the Saxon Chronicles was actually Christmas Day, as usually supposed by the authorities, or whether it was not intended to describe, as it would correctly do, the day of the winter solstice-the shortest day-which falls on the 21st December. As, however, Christmastide covers a period of at least twelve days, so also Yule-tide covered a similar space of time, and therefore the two would to a great extent coincide.

The name of Yule [says Mr. Elton], derived from the turning of the sun in its annual course, was given to the two months which preceded and followed the winter solstice, but the year began on "mothers' night," now Christmas Five, when the women took part in a now Christmas Eve, when the women took part in a

nocturnal watch.*

The whole history of Yule-tide takes us back to a period of our national history which lies buried far back in the tribal and ethnological beginnings of our race. One little incident alone, the lighting of the Yulelog from the remaining embers of the last year's log, opens up a history of the past into which we dare not enter, because, first, it would absorb more space than can be afforded to a single article, and, secondly, because it has already been touched upon in our volume for last year. But it must be noted, now that our articles on the popular archæology of the months have drawn to their close, how constantly and persistently the customs now clustering round the feast days of Christianity, were once customs performed at various times in the pagan routine of village This is surely a most important result to have obtained from our researches into this subject, and it deserves the attention of the scientific students of folklore. It is not mere accident-it has a definite causeand though up to the present time it has, we believe, been an unknown problem, there is

^{*} Elton, Origins of English History, p. 411.

sufficient interest and value in it to deserve further investigation.

Omens from the seasons and weather at Christmas are very plentiful, and we must quote one example from Harleian MS. (No. 2257, fols. 152-4), as it is applicable to the present year:—

If Christmas on a Monday be, A great winter that year you'll see, And full of winds both loud and shrill; But in the summer truth to tell; Stern winds shall then be and strong, Full of tempests lasting long; While battles they shall multiply, And great plenty of beasts shall die. They that be born that day I ween, They shall be strong each one and keen, He shall be found that stealeth ought, Though thou be sick thou diest not.

One especial feature of Christmas customs is the representation of mumming plays or masques. This subject has a history yet to be written. The mumming plays, as they have come down to us upon the waves of popular tradition, are a very curious and valuable portion of folklore. As Mr. Nutt has pointed out (Folklore Record, iii. 114), they contain features very significantly parallel to the folktale proper. If this fact leads to the identification of the incidents of the popular mumming play with those of the folktale, there will have been restored to English folklore an important factor which at present seems almost to have died out. Mr. J. S. Udal, in his valuable contribution to the third volume of the Folklore Record, has done so much towards telling us the chief facts at present known of the mumming plays that it is unnecessary to do more than record this reference to the subject. But putting on one side the folklore aspect of the question, there is another view which leads us to an interesting problem in the history of manners and customs. How far has the mumming play contributed towards the creation of the legitimate drama? It has been over and over again asserted that the miracle plays formed the beginning of dramatc representation in modern Europe, and that the influence of Roman and Greek dramatic art soon brought about a distinct branch of amusement in the representation of plays written by special authors. Under this view of the case, mumming plays have been relegated to the position of degene-

rate successors to the miracle plays. But this cannot be. The folktale incidents of mumming plays point to a far more ancient origin than the biblical incidents of miracle plays. All early nations have some forms of dramatic art-the war dance, the festival ceremonies, so elaborate among primitive peoples are early dramas. The immediate successor of these ceremonies is the mumming play. As a popular custom, we know, it was very wide spread, forming one of the features of Christmas festivities in almost every village in England. And it penetrated to the Court. This is exactly the link which connects the popular mumming play with the professional drama. The Court and nobles of the land would soon desire something more than the constant repetition of the village ceremony, and it was this which brought about a new development. mumming play represented the very crudest form of drama, but it has features particularly close to some of the scenes given by Shakespeare. Thus the play acted in Midsummer's Night Dream has personal representations of impersonal objects, and this is one of the features of the mumming play. Shakespeare, it is well known, appealed to popular custom for so many of his incidents that here, too, it must be admitted we have evidence of the first literary enshrinement of popular custom. And thus we are gradually led to the position of Christmas plays being written specially for the Court. We can only touch upon the bare outline of this important subject. It reached its utmost height during the reflected period from the Tudor rule in England, under the reign of the first Stuart.

Masques at Court were given at all times of the year, but New Year's Day, Twelfth Night, and Shrove Tuesday were probably those most favoured. Two of Ben Jonson's masques, however, were presented at Christmas proper—one of these, given in 1616, was entitled, "Christmas his Masque." Two of the characters are thus described:—"MINCED PIE, like a fine cook's wife, dressed neat; her man carrying a pie dish and spoons." "BABY-CAKE, drest like a boy, in a fine long coat, biggin, bib, muckender, and a little dagger; his mother bearing a great cake with a bean and a pease." Christmas himself is thus described:—"Enter Christmas.

with two or three of the guard attired in round hose, long stockings, a close doublet, a high-crowned hat, with a brooch, a long thin beard, a truncheon, little ruffs, white shoes, his scarfs and gaiters tied cross, and his drum beaten before him."

One other masque presented at Court at Christmas, 1617, is entitled "The Vision of Delight." This is an elegant piece, in which Grace, Love, Harmony, Revel, Sport, Laughter and Wonder accompany Delight, but there is little in it which has any bearing upon the

history of Christmas.

Shortly after this period, however, the growing influences of the Puritans brought about a different state of things. The old cheer and festivities of Christmas gradually, from the reign of James I., gave way before the stern fanaticism of the succeeding periods. This is amply illustrated by many facts to be gained from the historical records of the seventeenth century. Whether in consequence of this, or as forerunner of it, we cannot say, but country Christmasses were much altered by reason of the nobility flocking to London. Mr. Chappell prints, in his Popular Music of the Olden Times, a ballad called "Christmas's Lamentation," in which the writer complains of the flocking of the nobility to London.

Christmas beef and bread is turn'd into stones,
Into stones and silken rags;
And Lady Money sleeps and makes moans,
And makes moans in misers' bags;
Houses where pleasures once did abound,
Nought but a dog and a shepherd is found,
Welladay!
Places where Christmas revels did keep,
Now are become habitations for sheep.
Welladay, Welladay,
Welladay, where should I stay?

A letter of Chamberlain's to Sir Dudley Carleton, written Dec. 21, 1627, contains the following information bearing on this complaint:—

Divers lords and personages of quality have made means to be dispensed withall for going into the country this Christmas according to the proclamation; but it will not be granted, so that they pack away on all sides for fear of the worst.—Nichols's Progresses of James I.

But these were indications only of something more serious still against the festivities of old Christmas. Evelyn records in his diary of the Christmas of 1652: "No sermon anywhere; no church being permitted to be open; so observed it at home." And in the same year, Sir Thomas Gower, writing to Mr. John Langley, on Dec. 28, says:—

There is little worth writing, most of the time being spent in endeavouring to take away the esteem held of Christmas Day, to which end order was made that whoever would open shops should be protected by the State; yet I heard of no more than two who did so, and one of them had better have given £50 his wares were so dirtyed: and secondly that no sermons should be preached, which was observed (for aught I hear) save at Lincoln's Inn.—Hist. MS. Commission Reports, v. 192.

In the following year Evelyn writes: "No churches or public worship. I was fain to pass the devotions of that Blessed Day with my family at home." The next year's entry is: "1654. Christmas Day. No public offices in churches; but penalties to observers; so as I was constrained to celebrate it at home." In 1655 we read: "There was no more notice taken of Christmas Day in churches." The season was still more embittered. It was at this holiday time that Evelyn made the following record:—

I went to London, where Dr. Wild preached the funeral sermon of Preaching; this being the last day; after which Cromwell's proclamation was to take place, that none of the Church of England should dare either to preach, or administer Sacraments, teach school, &c., on pain of imprisonment or exileso this was the mournfullest day that in my life I had seen, or the Church of England herself since the Reformation, to the great rejoicing of both Priest and Presbyter. So pathetic was his discourse that it drew many tears from the auditory. Myself, wife, and some of our family, received the Communion. God make me thankful who hath hitherto provided for us the food of our souls as well as bodies. The Lord Jesus pity our distressed Church, and bring back the Captivity of Zion.

What could not be celebrated in public was performed in private. On the Christmas Day of 1656, Evelyn chronicles his going "to London to receive the Blessed Sacrament, this holy festival, at Dr. Wild's lodgings, where I rejoiced to find so full an assembly of devout and sober Christians." "26th. I invited some of my neighbours and tenants, according to custom, and to preserve hospitality and charity." By next year some of the clergy had bolder grown, but their boldness was met by rough treatment. Here is a record of the day, A.D. 1657:—

I went to London with my wife to celebrate Christmas Day, Mr. Gunning preaching in Exeter

Chapel, on Michah vii. 2. Sermon ended, as he was going to the Holy Sacrament, the Chapel was surrounded with soldiers, and all the communicants and assembly surprized and kept prisoners by them; some in the house, others carried away. It fell to my share to be confined to a room in the house, where yet I was permitted to dine with the master of it, the Countess of Dorset, Lady Hutton, and some others of Quality who invited me. In the afternoon, came Col. Whalley, Goffe, and others from Whitehall, to examine us one by one. Some they committed to the Marshal, some by one. Some they committed to the Marshal, some to prison. When I came before them, they took my name and abode, examined me, why, contrary to the ordinance made, that none should any longer observe the superstitious time of should any longer observe the superstitious time of the Nativity (so esteemed by them), I durst offend and particularly pray for Charles Stuart, for which we had no Scripture. I told them we did not pray for Charles Stuart, but for all Christian Kings, Princes, and Governors. They replied, in so doing, we prayed for the King of Spain too, who was their enemy and a Papist; with other frivolous and ensnaring questions and much threatening; and finding no colour to detain me, they dismissed me with much pity of my ignorance. There were men of high flight and above ordinances, and spoke spiteful things of our Lord's Nativity. As we went up to receive the Sacrament, the miscreants held their muskets against us, as if they would have shot us at the altar, but yet suffering us to finish the office of Communion, as perhaps not having instructions what to do in case they found us in that action. So I got home, late the next day, blessed be God.

Of the anniversaries of 1658 and 1659, there is no record, but we have this "Jubilate," on November 25, 1660: "Dr. Rainbow preached before the King, on Luke ii. 14, of the glory to be given God for all his mercies; especially for restoring the Church and Government. Now the service was performed with music, voices, &c., as formerly." On the Christmas Day following, Evelyn writes: " Preached at the Abbey, Dr. Earle, Clerk of his Majesty's Closet, and my dear friend, now Dean of Westminster, on Luke ii. 13, 14, condoling the breach made in the public joy by the lamented death of the Princess" (of Orange, the King's sister, of small pox, on the 22nd), "which entirely altered the face and gallantry of the whole Court.'

But soon we have a contrast to this. At Christmas-tide, 1662, "I was told," writes Pepys, in his Diary, "that my Lady Castlemaine hath all the King's Christmas presents made him by the Peers, which is a most abominable thing; and that at the great ball she was much richer in jewels than the Queen and Duchess put together." And he goes on—"The Commons in Parliament, I

hear, are very high to stand for an Act of Uniformity, and will not indulge in Papists. which is endeavoured by the Court party, not the Presbyters." In the year 1667 it had become one of the London sights to go to the Queen's chapel on Christmas Eve. Pepys stood there, near the rails, from nine at night to two in the morning. He expected to see a figuring of the birth of Our Saviour, the manger, &c., but he stood amid a crowd of lackeys, beggars, fine ladies, zealous poor Papists, gaping Protestants, and cut-purses, with only Queen and Court to stare at, and an endless musical service to listen to. The Papists, he says, had the wit to bring cushions to kneel upon. Lady Castlemaine, he adds, "looked prettily in her night-clothes." Pepys finished his night, or rather Christmas morning, at the Rose Tavern, over "burnt wine," and so home by moonlight. He stopped now and then, on his way, to drop money, as was the custom, and so home, where he found his wife in bed, and Jane and the maid making pies. He was up by nine, to church ;-dull sermon, crowds of fine people, a good Christmas dinner, a quiet afternoon, and a joyous evening, brought the day to an end. At Court, things went from bad to worse. One may be a little surprised to find Evelyn himself there on Christmas Day, 1684; but he was ashamed of what he saw. "Dr. Dove preached before the King. I saw this evening such a scene of profuse gaming, and the King in the midst of his three concubines, as I had never before seen; luxurious dallying and profaneness."

One other object we will mention before closing these notes of Christmas-time in England. Why was this day chosen as a day for the payment of rents and other periodical dues? A question like this presents one of the most curious, and yet one of the most simple problems of our social history. We are so accustomed to the idea of Christmas Day being a so-called Quarter-day, that it is not easy to contemplate a time when this happy arrangement did not form part of the ordinary routine of life. Yet a moment's reflection will easily show that this contemplation does not lead us far afield from the region of fact. A record or two, there-

^{*} Dr. Doran summarized a few of these points in Notes and Queries, 5th ser, ii. p. 502.

fore, giving evidence of the transition is of value to the student, and we accordingly supply one curious piece of information on the subject. Mr. Jeaffreson, in calendaring the Anglesey MSS. of Miss C. Griffith, came across some curious leases, which indicated the rendering of certain provisions at feastdays in payment of rent. The leases set forth, among other matters, that the rents shall be "Xs of lefall money of Englond at the feastes of thapostell Phelippe and jacobbe, and all Seyntes, by too equall porcionnes, wyth too gese as presentes at Christmas, and too capons at Ester, and one day of reapinge in harvest time, or iiid in money yerely duringe the seyd terme." And again, an indenture of lease for fifteen years, "at a yearly rent of vs. iiid." payable in equal portions at Michaelmas, and the feasts of Sts. Philip and James, and also of "six capones or sixpence in money price of euery one of the same capones," payable in equal portions at the feasts of Christmas and Easter. (Hist. MSS. Com., v. 415).

And Mr. Jeaffreson pointedly comments upon these curious records, that—

Attention may be claimed for the leases which show that, from the time of Elizabeth down to the later decades of the seventeenth century, it was usual for the tenants of farms in Anglesea to pay their rent in the three separate forms of money, presents, and service, and that in cases where the tenant was exempt from the two last-named kinds of obligation, his lease generally stated expressly that the money, which he had agreed to pay as rent, covered the dues commonly rendered to landlords in labour and gifts. The presents thus exacted by landlords and rendered by their tenants, were for the most part articles of agricultural produce. Sometimes, however, they were offerings of another kind. For instance, so late as Charles the Second's time, Hugh ap William held a small farm, the Tythin Clay, in the county of Anglesey, of Mr. Owen Holland, at a yearly rent of "£6.0.0. in money, two capons, and a hundred red herrings in presents, and six days of masons work in services."*

There is no doubt that this practice on the part of landlords of inserting in their leases special stipulations for the payment of presents at principal feasts of the year, first became general in Anglesey in consequence of a growing disinclination on the part of tenants to render dues which had been purely spontaneous before custom made them unavoidable obligations.

* Ibid. p. 405.

Their Eminences the Cardinals.

By R. DAVEY.

HE title of Cardinal is the highest but one—that of Pope—in the hierarchy of the Catholic Church, and, therefore, its bestowal is the

greatest honour an ecclesiastic can receive from the Pontiff. Its origin is exceedingly remote, for according to Pope Eugenius IV., in his Constitution De Mediocri, although not mentioned in the earliest annals of the Church, there is little doubt but that St. Peter himself instituted the Order of Cardinals, in imitation of his Divine Master, who surrounded Himself with Apostles. So, also, Peter surrounded himself by a council of persons of superior intelligence and morality, to assist him in governing the nascent Church. Doubtless it is on account of this tradition that we find Sixtus V. styling the Cardinals "representatives of the Apostles," and that in Papal Bulls we see the Sacred College always termed "Apostolic." The title "Cardinal" makes its first appearance in history in the fourth century, at the Council of Rome, which assembled under Constantine. We learn from Lælius Zecchius, De Repub. Eccles. (Part ii.), that in his opinion the word Cardinal means Principal: "Nomen Cardinalis idem fere significat quod principalis," &c., and that it is also derived from the Latin cardo, the hinge or pivot of a door; for, says he, "the Cardinals are the pivots of the doors of the Church." Augustine calls the chiefs of the Donatists, Cardinals, and St. Ambrose so styles the seven principal moral virtues, because they are the foundations and props of all others. But the Venerable Cardinal Bellarmin assures us that in the early ages of Christianity the word "Cardinal" was bestowed upon the principal churches of Rome, which were known as Cardinales. From the churches the title, in the course of time, passed to the chief pastors who directed them; and to this day the Canons of the Cathedrals of Milan, Ravenna, Salerno, Naples, Cremona, Campostella, and Cologne are arrayed in scarlet, and were styled, up to the middle of the sixteenth century, Cardinals "by courtesy;" but St. Pius V.,

by a Constitution, dated March 13, 1567, ordered them to relinquish this title in favour of the chief priests of the Church of Rome. They nevertheless still wear scarlet garments in the choir, instead of the ordinary purple robes common to the canons of other cathedrals.

It would be a curious but lengthy task to note all the high eulogiums bestowed upon the Sacred College by the various Pontiffs and ecclesiastical writers; and a volume could be easily filled with quotations from their works in its praise. Sixtus V. compares it to the assembly of elders chosen by Moses, by command of God, to help him lead the chosen people into the Promised Land (Numb. ch. xi. v. 10, 17); and hence this remarkable Pope limited the number of its members to seventy, which corresponds with that of the elders of the Israelites.

As amongst the Jews these aged men formed the Senate of Moses, so also do the Cardinals act under the Popes in a similar manner, and he is to them a second, a Christian Moses, the High Priest, Vicar of Christ, and Head of the Church, destined by God to lead the human family through the troubled waves of this life to the tranquil shores of eternity.

Pope Innocent III., the same who excommunicated King John of England, likens the Cardinals to the priests of the race of Levi, who were charged by the High Priest to assist him in the performance of his Pontifical duties, and in administering justice in Israel, as we read, Deuteronomy, chap. xvii. 8 and 10 verses:—

If there arise a matter too hard for them in judgment between blood and blood, between plea and plea, and between stroke and stroke, being matter of controversy within thy gates; then shalt thou arise and get thee up into the place which the Lord thy God shall choose; and thou shalt come unto the priests the Levites, and unto the judge that shall be in those days, and enquire; and they shall shew thee the sentence of judgment.

In a letter addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Pope Eugenius IV. says:—

Who does not readily perceive that the dignity of cardinal is superior to that of archbishop? for, whereas the latter is established for the use of one country, the former is of universal utility to the entire Christian people. The archbishop directs only one church; the cardinals, with the assistance of the Pope, direct them all, and, whereas the cardinals are judged only by the Pope, they possess the privilege of judging the patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops and all the other ranks of the Church and priesthood.

St. Jerome, himself a Cardinal, speaking of the Cardinalate, remarks that: "Just as the Romans had their senate, by whose advice they acted, so also we have our senate, the assembly of the chief priests." Eminences are the Privy Councillors of the Sovereign Pontiff, his coadjutors in life, and those who upon his death are charged with the reins of ecclesiastical government until the election of his successor, and it is on account of this exalted office that they receive most high-sounding titles. One Pope calls them "sons of the first grave," another "the spiritual fathers," a third "the props of the Church," and a fourth "the lights of the Church and pillars of the faith." Sixtus V. calls the Sacred College, which is the name given to the entire and united body of Cardinals, "the eyes and ears-i.e., the most important organs of the mystical body of the chief of the Church;" and, so intimate, says he, is their connection with the Pope, that they are exempt, when they receive the episcopate, from taking an oath of fidelity to him, because it would be useless for him to insist upon an oath, as it were, from a part of himself, so that when Cardinals are sent out as legates they assume the title of Legati a latere, for the reason that they alone are members of the mystical body of the Supreme Pontiff. Their Eminences are, therefore, after the Pope, the first dignitaries of the hierarchy, being, as has already been said, superior to the Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, and Abbots, and, in a word, to all priests, for they only can elect a Pope who can be chosen but from their ranks. This exclusive privilege was granted them in the Eleventh Œcumenical Council, that of the Lateran, by Alexander III. Previous to this decree there had been much confusion on the death of each Pope by reason of the ever-increasing number of persons who considered it their right to interfere in the election of his successor. He, Alexander, therefore, declared that the Popes should henceforth be elected by the Sacred College, and according to an ancient custom he is selected exclusively from amongst its members. Since Stephen III., 769, the Popes have always been chosen from amongst the Cardinals excepting under peculiar circumstances. The following Popes, how-

ever, have been created since that date without having previously received the purple:-Gregory V. 996, Sylvester II. 999, Clement II. 1046, Damasus II. 1048, St. Leo I. 1049, Victor II. 1055, Nicholas II. 1058, Alexander II. 1061, Calixtus II. 1119, Eugenius IV. 1145, Urban IV. 1261, Blessed Gregory, 1271, St. Celestin V. 1294, Clement V. 1305, Urban V. 1362, Urban VI. 1378. Some writers declare that after the death of Nicholas III. the Superior General of the Dominicans Giovanni da Vercelli, was elected Pope, but died before receiving the tiara. All these Popes were either bishops or simple priests at the time they ascended the Chair of Peter, and never belonged to the Sacred College. The number of privileges accorded by the Popes to the Cardinals, is fixed by some writers at thirty, others, as Cohellius, for instance, at forty-one. Manfredius counts them as thirty, and Germonius, in his treatise " De S. Immunitatibus," declares that the Sacred College enjoys at least 300 spiritual and temporal advantages. Of these, doubtless, by far the most important is that of electing the Pope, and the next, the following, recorded by St. Thomas of Aquinas, who asserts that, during the Council of Rome, A.D. 324, Pope Sylvester decreed that :-

Before the sentence of excommunication can be pronounced upon a cardinal he must be accused by seventy-two witnesses, if he belongs to the order of bishops; by sixty-four, if to that of priests; and by twenty-seven if to that of the inferior order of

Urban VIII. gave the members of the Sacred College the title of Eminence in 1630. They had been previously addressed as reverend, illustrious, honourable, &c. &c. There are three orders of Cardinals, the orders of bishops, priests, and deacons, which are gracefully likened, by Cardinal Paleotti, to the three orders of the celestial hierarchy, the Seraphim, Cherubim, and Thrones. Under Stephen III. the title of Cardinal is They are then used for the first time. styled hebdomadary cardinal-bishops, in the Council held at Rome in 769, because, in those times, they were obliged to either celebrate Mass before the shrine of St. Peter, or to assist the Pope at Divine service, at least once in each week. The number of the Cardinal-bishops used to be seven :- Ostia,

Porta, St. Rufina, Albano, Sabina, Frascati, and Palestrina. These Sees are all situated in the immediate vicinity of Rome, but only six of them remain, since Eugenius III., in 1150, united the Bishopric of Ostia to that of Velletri. The order of priests includes those Cardinals to whom the Pope grants the titles of certain churches in and about Rome, which are more or less famous for their important relics, or on account of the martyrs who were put to death upon their sites and whose bones rest beneath their altars. Fifty-five out of the 360 churches of Rome possess the privilege of giving a title to a corresponding number of Cardinals.

The Sacred College, when complete, consists of seventy members; six Cardinal bishops, fifty Cardinal priests, and fourteen cardinal deacons, who also have the privilege of titular churches of inferior rank. A Cardinal is considered the spouse of the Church, whose name he receives. He is bound to keep its altars in repair, to embellish it, and to hang his coat of arms and portrait over its principal entrance. Here is an example of how a Cardinal's title is written:—

"By the grace of God and will of the Holy See, Prince of the Holy Roman Catholic and Apostolic See, Cardinal priest by the title of St. Andrew and Gregory on

Monte Calio."

Up to the time of Sixtus V. the number of Cardinals was not determined. We know for certain that in 1331 there were but twenty, and under Urban VI., in 1378, only twentythree. In the reign of Sixtus IV. there were fifty-three, but Leo X. increased the number to sixty-five. Paul V. never allowed the Sacred College to exceed sixty-three members, and under Pius IV., in 1559, it rose to seventy-six. Some authors affirm that under Pope St. Pontianus, in A.D. 230, there were 236 Cardinals. The Emperor Ferdinand, of Austria, proposed at the Council of Trent that the number should be reduced to twelve or twenty-four. His Imperial Majesty was informed by the legate that this was a matter which could only be treated by the Pope in

In the time of Sixtus V. it was customary to create Cardinals only during the fourth series of Ember days, but this custom has fallen into disuse, and the Pope now creates them when he chooses. It was also Sixtus who revised all the rules whereby the Cardinals should be elected. To him is due the regulation establishing that the members of the Sacred College may be selected from the two orders of the clergy, the regular and secular, and from amongst the ecclesiastics of all nations, and this is strictly in accordance with the wise observation of St. Bernard, who advises that "those who are to judge the affairs of the universe should be called to their office from all parts of the world." Pope Benedict XIV., whose liberal and exalted spirit even Voltaire praised in his dedication to him of his play Mahomet, confirmed the decree of Sixtus V., in an allocution pronounced April 5, 1756, wherein he records the fact that he had that day appointed eight foreign cardinals. Sixtus V. decreed, moreover, that the Sacred College should always possess at least four doctors of theology belonging to the religious congregations, or to the mendicant orders, and dreading lest family pride should influence so sacred an institution, the Pope further declared that no two near relatives should sit together in the conclave.

The age at which a person can receive the dignity of Cardinal was fixed by the Council of Trent at thirty years, the one below which no priest can be consecrated bishop. Sixtus V., however, made an exception to the rule in favour of the Cardinal deacons; he established that they might receive the hat at twenty-two, and determined that those who were not ordained deacons at the time they were raised to the purple, were to be so during the first year of their admission into the Sacred College, otherwise they can have no voice in the affairs of the consistory or in the election of the Pope. Notwithstanding these decrees, since Sixtus V., as before, many persons have been created Cardinal deacons under twenty years of age, of which the most notable are Giovanni di Medici, afterwards Leo X., who received his hat in his twelfth year. Antonio Faccinetti, who was created Cardinal by Innocent IX. in 1591, before he was eighteen. Joseph Deti, by Clement VIII. in his seventeenth year, and Silvester Aldobrandini, a boy of sixteen, received the dignity from the same Pope in 1605. Paul V., named Cardinal, Maurice, of Savoy (1607) at fourteen; Carlo di Medici at nineteen, and Ferdinand, of Austria, son of Philip III. of Spain, who was only ten. In 1647, under Innocent X., Francis Maidalchini, aged seventeen, was elected Cardinal, and Clement XII. in 1735, at the request of Philip V. of Spain, bestowed the title of Eminence on His Majesty's son, Don Luis de Bourbon, an infant only eight years old, who was also appointed Archbishop of Toledo. It must have been a curious sight to have seen this little creature arrayed in full robes of office, and endeavouring to go through his stately duties and ceremonies with decorum. He, however, soon afterwards relinquished the Mitre of Toledo to an older and wiser head. These examples are much commoner before than after the days of Sixtus V., who just before he promulgated his decrees, gave the scarlet hat to his nephew, Alexander Peretti, who was a youth of but fourteen, whose brother Felix, the favourite of his Pontifical uncle, was cruelly and mysteriously murdered, some say by order of his beautiful wife, the wretched Victoria Accoramboni, the famous "White Devil," of Webster's drama.

Let us now consider the costume of the The dress or robe consists of a Cardinals. long frock buttoned down the front with many little buttons, and a kind of cloak, cape and train of vivid scarlet. The majority of writers are of opinion that the choice of this colour is due to the fact that it was worn by the old Roman senators to whose dignity and office the Cardinals succeeded, to a certain extent, in the time of the great Constantine, but it has also a mystical signification. It is the colour of blood, of martyrdom, and is intended to remind their Eminences that they are expected to die, if necessary, in the defence of the faith. The earliest mention of this colour being set aside for the use of the Sacred College is to be found in Cardinal Ostien's works. He tells us that it was worn by the Sacred College in the previous year to the one in which the book was written, 1274. Paul Morise says that the colour was chosen by Clement II. in 1064, in imitation of the Canons of Milan Cathedral, who had recently adopted this vivid hued raiment by order of their Archbishop, Heribert. The famous hat made its first appearance in

history at the thirteenth General Council, held at Lyons in 1244, under Innocent IV., who ordered the Cardinals present to wear "scarlet hats."* Paul II. in the fifteenth century added the custom of bestowing upon the newly-created prince of the Church a scarlet cap or Beretta, and a skull cap of the same colour called the callota. He ordered that anyone found wearing such a headdress without being a member of the Sacred College, should be rigorously punished. He also granted the Cardinals the right to caparison their horses with scarlet, and Urban VIII. accorded them the privilege of decorating their carriages with long scarlet tassels called fiocchi, which used to form such a very picturesque ornament of the old coaches, which have almost entirely disappeared from the

streets of Rome since 1870.

It was Innocent IV. who, as already stated, decreed that the Cardinals should wear scarlet hats, and this he did to commemorate the massacre of several members of the Sacred College, by order of the Emperor Frederic II., in 1219, under his predecessor Pope Honorius III. Their eminences first wore these hats at Clugny in 1246, during the session of the Council of Lyons, when Innocent IV. went in State to that city to visit St. Louis, King of France. The hat is now rarely worn. Formerly it used to be in constant use, and figures very picturesquely in the frescoes of the early Italian painters, and in the old pictures and engravings of processions of cardinals on horseback, accompanying the Pope either to his coronation, or to pay a State visit to some church. At present the usual hat worn by a Cardinal is the black three-cornered beaver hat common to all priests on the Continent, but having a scarlet ribbon round it, and gold cord and tassels. The beretta is a small three-cornered cap made like that which all Catholic priests wear when in church, and not officiating at the altar; it is, however, scarlet instead of black. The callota is merely a little scarlet skull-cap. The Cardinals who belong to the religious orders do not wear the scarlet robe, but retain their own distinctive costume. They however possess the hat, and wear the

The Cardinals are elected to their dignity in what is termed a Consistory. There are two kinds of Consistories or meetings of the Sacred College, the *private* and the *public*. At the "private" no one but the Pope and their Eminences can be present, in this the new Cardinals are named; on the contrary, in the "public" consistory, when they receive their insignia of office, the foreign ambassadors, ministers, Roman aristocracy, and strangers of distinction are allowed to assist

at the ceremony.

(1.) The private or secret Consistory. When the Holy Father, robed in his usual white dress, but wearing the red velvet tippet lined with ermine, and the crimson skull-cap, so

red beretta and skull-cap-a privilege accorded them by Gregory XIV. On ordinary occasions the costume of a Cardinal is black edged with scarlet, scarlet worked buttonholes and buttons, and a wide black or scarlet silk cloak floating from the shoulders. Their choir dress is scarlet with a cape lined with ermine. The robe must be made of plain silk without figures of any kind upon it, but the train and cape may be made of watered silk, moiré antique, or even of velvet lined and edged with ermine. When the Cardinals wear violet, as in Lent, for instance, their hats must be of the same colour. Violet is the ecclesiastical colour for penitential seasons, and also for mourning. When a member of the Sacred College loses a near relative, he cannot put on black or any sign of mourning; and can only in token of respect for the memory of his dead, suppress the tassels on his hat, and of the narrow golden cord which surrounds it. On the third Sunday in Advent, and of the fourth of Lent, called respectively Latare and Gaudete Sundays, their Eminences assume light pink robes to signify the joy expressed by the Church at the approach of Christmas and Easter, but they immediately resume their sombre garments, since the penitential season is not passed. When a Cardinal dies his hat is hung up over the place where his body rests, and there remains until removed either by accident or by the effect of time. The oldest hat thus suspended in Rome is to be seen in the church of Santa Maria Nuova. and is that of Cardinal Mariano Volpano, who died in 1390.

^{*} Patrizi, Cærem. lib. i. sec. 8 and 4; Pagi, in Vita Innocent. VI. tom. 3, n. 31; Plautus, De S. R. E. Cardinalium Vestibus, p. 60.

familiar in Raphael's portraits of Leo X. and Julius II., has taken his seat on the throne errected in the hall of the Consistory, their Eminences being seated, he pronounces an allocution, and then announces to them that he intends creating several new members of the Sacred College to fill up the vacancies in that august senate. He next asks them whom they would select to receive the honor of the hat in these words: "Quid vobis videtur? Whom do you choose?" Their Eminences rise and bowing low signify by that gesture that they are willing to welcome in their midst any one whom the Supreme Pontiff may deem worthy of wearing the scarlet. Then the Pope says:

We name by the authority of God Almighty, of the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul and by our own, Cardinal bishops (naming them) Cardinal priests or deacons (naming them) of the Holy Roman Catholic and Apostolic Church with all necessary and due dispensations and exceptions, and this we do in the name of the Father & Son & and Holy Ghost &. Amen.

Having three times blessed the newly appointed persons who, of course, are absent and also those assembled, the Pontiff rises from his throne and leaves the hall followed by the princes of the Church, and the cere-

mony is over.

(2.) The first Consistory concluded, the Cardinal Secretary of State (Jacobini) sends a verbal communication to the newly created Cardinals who are resident in Rome, informing them of their election. This message is brought them by the Papal master of ceremonies, who also tells them when they are to proceed to the Palace of the Vatican to receive the Beretta from the hands of the Pope. As soon as the news of the nomination is known in Rome all the prelates, members of the high nobility, ambassadors, &c., hasten at once to the residences of the new Cardinals The recipients of to congratulate them. those compliments meet their guests at the door of their apartments, but as yet do not wear the distinctive insignia of their new office. When at last the appointed time arrives and they go to the Vatican they proceed thither in their gala coaches and are received at the foot of the Grand Scala Regia by the Master of Pontifical ceremonies who leads them to the chamber of the Cardinal Secretary

of State, who in his turn takes them into the presence of the Pope.

The ceremony which now takes place is a continuation of the first secret Consistory, or is rather a second edition of it. The Pope, arrayed as before, receives the newly created cardinals by pronouncing a short allocution, after which they kneel three times before him, pronounce a vow of obedience and he places upon their heads, beginning by the eldest and ending with the youngest, the scarlet beretta. Next he puts mozette on their shoulders, and then gives them the double Accolade. finally felicitates them and encourages them to persevere in their duties and to illustrate their rank by deeds of charity and zeal for the The eldest and first welfare of their flocks. created Cardinal thanks the Pontiff in the name of the rest. When this function is terminated the master of ceremonies cries out three times, " Ite omnes-Go out all of you," and the Pope remains alone with the new members of the Sacred College and the Cardinal Secretary of State. What His Holiness says to them remains always a profound secret. On leaving the Papal presence, their Eminences receive from the Keeper of the Apostolic Wardrobe the red skull-cap, which is placed upon a silver platter, and which they themselves put on their heads. Having taken ceremonious leave of the Eminent Secretary of State, they return home, wearing the skullcap only, but carrying the Beretta on their knees as they sit in their vast old-fashioned State coaches, which are not unlike those of the Lord Mayor and Corporation of London in size and shape. During the evening the principal palaces of Rome are illuminated, and bands of music perform in front of the residences of the newly elected. For in the Eternal city the creation of a Cardinal is looked upon as, in other parts of the world, is the birth of a prince of the blood. The ambassadors, ministers and other distinguished persons illuminate their mansions also, and not unfrequently kindle bonfires in the adjacent squares and piazzas. Until the Cardinals receive the hat, they cannot wear any one of the insignia of their office except the skull-cap, nor may they visit or receive visits, to or from the older Members of the Sacred College, and this by decree of Gregory XI., May 4, 1706, unless they have

received special permission so to do from the Holy Father. If the newly elected are of royal blood or relatives of the Pope, their nomination is announced by the booming of the cannon from the fortress of St. Angelo, and the Pontiff gives them the Beretta and skullcap with his own hands, as took place when Benedict XIV. elevated to the grade of Cardinal-deacon, Henry Stuart, Duke of York, brother to the second Pretender; and lately, when Pius IX. gave the same rank to H.I.H. Prince Lucien Bonaparte. If the Cardinal is at a distance from Rome, as in the case with the American Archbishop McCloskey, a noble guardsman brings him the letter and the callota or skull-cap from the Secretary of State, announcing his nomination, and an Ab-legate conveys to him the Beretta. The travelling expenses of these gentlemen are defrayed by the Papal treasury. Their Eminences are selected, as already said, from both the regular and the secular clergy-that is to say, from the religious order, as well as from the ordinary priesthood. A special clause, however, in the rules of the Order of the Jesuits prohibits them from aspiring to the dignity of Cardinal; but they can, nevertheless, receive the hat by a special dispensation from the Pope. The Popes have the right of creating Cardinals in petto-that is, selecting certain persons for the Cardinalite whose names they may keep to themselves until a fitting opportunity for publishing them occurs. Clement XIV. once reserved eleven in this manner. Panvinius thinks this custom was introduced by Alexander VI., and the first mention of such a practice is to be found in Platia's life of that Pope, who says that he created in the Consistory held in 1493, John of Aragon, a cardinal, but did not name him until the following year. Since the times of Urban VIII., 1623, the custom has been general, and the present Pope usually adopts If the Pope dies before the Cardinals in petto are officially appointed, their creation is considered null.

Nothing can be imagined more magnificent than the spectacle presented by the assembled Pontifical Court for a "Public" Consistory, or solemn distribution of the scarlet hats. The apartment chosen for this ceremony is one of the most glorious in the world, being

that known as the Hall of the Consistory. which is decorated by the noblest frescoes of the Divine Raphael. Upon a crimson throne, and under a dais of the same coloured velvet, sits the Supreme Pontiff, wearing his triple tiara, and in full Pontifical robes. To the left and right of his Holiness are their Eminences the elder Cardinals, seated upon benches covered with fine tapestry, and having their train-bearers at their feet, who are accommodated with low stools, and holding the superiors' Berettas upon their knees. Ranged along the walls at intervals are the Swiss Guard, in their quaint costumes of yellow and black. Here the sun, streaming through the lofty windows, brilliantly illuminates portions of the immortal Sanzio's grand pictures. or the frescoes on the high and arched vault, or flashes dazzlingly upon the steel cuirasses of the noble guard, or on the gold embroidered dresses of the various ambassadors-on the Spanish, for instance, who wear still the picturesque costumes of the time of Philip II. On either side of the Papal chair stand the Princes Orsini and Colonna, who have the hereditary privilege of being "princes assistant at the Pontifical throne." Presently way is made for the newly-appointed Cardinals, who file into the chamber two by two. They genuflect three times before the Pope, and then proceed to embrace their elder brethren. The Pontiff then places the red hat upon their heads, and says to each as he does so, "Receive this red hat, sign of your eminent dignity, which obliges you to devote your-self to the good of the Church and the faithful, even to death and to the shedding of your blood-usque ad mortem et sanguinis effusionem inclusive." The Pope only touches their heads, so to speak, with the hat, for as soon as he has uttered the above words, he gives it back to the master of ceremonies, who in the evening carries it to the newly elected, being accompanied on this occasion by the Grand Chamberlain, the master keeper of the Papal wardrobe, two prelates and five servants in rich liveries, called palefreniers. After the bestowal of the hat the Pope retires, unless he intends to pronounce an allocution, and the assembly proceeds to either the Sixtine, or Pauline Chapels, where the Te Deum is chanted. When that hymn of grace is sung, their Eminences re-enter the

Hall of the Consistory, and another ceremony is performed, called "the closing and opening of the lips." Each of the new Cardinals approaches the Pope in turn, who places his finger on their mouths, saying, "I close your lips so that you may not speak in the Consistory or in the Conclave;" and then he opens their lips, repeating the following formula:—"I open your mouths so that you may speak in the Councils and in the election of the Supreme Pontiffs, and in the Consistories, and in all places where it is your right as Cardinals to speak. In the name of the Father, Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen." This ceremony is at least as old as the time of Eugenius IV., for it is mentioned as having taken place in the Consistory he held Oct. 20, 1431. However, Pope Pius V. declared, Jan. 26, 1571, and what he said was confirmed by Gregory XV. in his "Ceremonial," written in 1622, that this ceremony is no longer absolutely necessary, and can be dispensed with. Nothing now remains to complete the ceremonies except to bestow upon each Cardinal a sapphire ring, for which he makes a return gift of 500 ducats, which, by decree of Pius IV., goes towards defraying the ex-penses of the Lateran Basilica. The selection of the sapphire signifies the supreme and quasi-royal dignity of the Cardinalate, since that stone is the emblem of fidelity and loyalty. The custom of giving this ring is evidently anterior to the reign of Boniface VIII. (1294), for in his time it was undoubtedly bestowed, as a usual custom, upon his nephew, Cardinal Gaetani. Above the stone on this ring the arms of the reigning Pontiff are skilfully engraved.

After their reception of the scarlet hat, the Cardinals proceed to the Church of St. Peter's, in great State, to adore the Blessed Sacrament and pay their homage at the shrines of the apostles Peter and Paul. On leaving the basilica they distribute abundant alms to the poor, and then go to pay their respects to the Dean of the Sacred College. The Dean of the Cardinalate is always a very important personage. He is Prefect of the Congregation of Ceremonies and Secretary of the Holy Office, or Inquisition. He is, moreover, usually a Patriarch, or Archbishop, and is addressed as *Colendissimo* and *Osservantissimo*. When by chance he is Bishop of Ostia

as well as Cardinal, he has the right to consecrate the new Pope, if His Holiness has not previously received the dignity of Bishop. He has, moreover, to be addressed by the Pope as "Venerable brother," "Dear son," and on the envelope, "To the Most Reverend Lord Cardinal." The Cardinals address their letters to each other thus: "To the Most Eminent and Most Reverend Lord Cardinal."

After their visit to the Cardinal Dean, they return home and receive the visits of their friends; and, indeed, of any one who chooses to wear full evening costume. The saloons of their palaces are thrown open and brilliantly illuminated. The princesses and marchionesses of the Roman aristocracy flock to these receptions in their most gorgeous dresses, and blazing with diamonds. The Cardinal receives his guests at the door of the first saloon, and, after kissing his hand, the visitor passes into the other halls and partakes of light refreshments. A band of music plays in the house and another in the street, facing it. These receptions continue for three consecutive evenings.

No Cardinal can visit an ambassador after his creation until after the ambassador has paid him his respects; neither can he descend the staircase to reconduct any visitor to his carriage. A Cardinal cannot kneel on the same bench in a church on which any other person is kneeling, unless that person is of royal birth. Three Cardinals being together in one carriage cannot admit a fourth person into it, even if he be a prince of the blood. These rules of etiquette are, however, more frequently dispensed with than retained.

Cardinals, when residing in Rome, must have the following dependents and servants, who are called famigliari, or familiars:—

(1.) An auditor, who prepares the documents and writings of his master for publication;

(2.) A secretary, who opens his dispatches;

(3.) A master of the chamber, who regulates the ceremonies to be observed on introducing strangers to his Eminence; (4.) A gentleman usher, who carries the Cardinal's torch in public processions; (5.) A train-bearer;

(6.) A chaplain; (7.) A major domo;

(8.) A chamberlain; (9.) A valet; (10.) A dean, who regulates the wardrobe; and

(11.) A door-opener, who opens the doors of

the houses and salons which his master may choose to enter, and also those of his carriage. There then is the coachman, the postilion, and then stable-boys, or, better, "hanging footmen," from the custom they have of riding behind the Cardinal's carriage on State occasions. Their Emi-nences, as a rule, live very simply. Their table is frugal, and their manner of treating their "familiars" and dependents very kind and paternal in the extreme. They are usually remembered in their patron's wills, and are not unfrequently pensioned by him for life. The Cardinals are usually chiefs of various religious congregations, inspectors of monasteries, protectors of religious orders, corporations, and colleges. Their duties are innumerable, and it is astonishing how they find time to fulfil them all, and to be what all the Roman Cardinals are, always ready to receive with surpassing politeness any strangers who may bring them an introduction or need their aid. Within the present century the Sacred College has been illustrated by some of the most eminent of men, such as the great statesmen, Cardinals Pacca and Consalvi; that astonishing man, Cardinal Mezzofanti, who wrote and spoke seventy languages; the great Cardinal Maï, whose indefatigable labours and ability as an antiquary discovered and gave to the world the beautiful De Republica of Cicero, and many other immortal works of the ancients; Cardinal Wiseman; Cardinal Billiet, the accomplished botanist; Cardinal de Bonnechose, the eloquent French speaker and philanthropist; Cardinal Manning; Cardinal Newman; Cardinal McCloskey; Cardinal Pitra, whose archæological knowledge is of the highest order; the late Cardinal Bernabo; and many others, alike eminent for their piety, charity, and learning.

Indeed, to a truly conscientious prelate, the dignity of Cardinal is not an enviable one. Let Pope Pius II. explain its duties, in the following fragment from his Allocution pronounced on the occasion of the creation of a number of Cardinals in Siena Cathedral, in 1460:—

My sons [said he], you have just received the greatest of the most exalted dignities. Called to the Sacred College, you will be with us the judges of the earth. You will have to distinguish between cause and cause, between blood and blood, between

leprosy and leprosy. Successors of the Apostles, you will be seated round us on our throne. You will be the senators of Rome, and like kings; the true hinges of the earth, upon which the doors of the Church move. Consider, therefore, in your hearts what mind, what genius, what integrity, is needed to worthily fill this dignity: humility and not pride, liberality and not avarice, abstinence and not excess, continence and not license, wisdom and learning and not ignorance; in a word, all the virtues and no vices, is what this honour exacts. If you have been hitherto vigilant, you must be doubly more so now than ever. If you have been generous, you must be doubly so now. Give alms abundantly, and above all things, help the needy and feed the poor. May the Scriptures be ever in your hands, that you may teach others to avoid error, and that your light may shine forth before the whole world. In fine, be such as you wished the Cardinals to be, before you yourselves were raised to that dignity.

Intimidated by the tasks and responsibilities of their office, many have refused the rank, or only accepted it when menaced by anathema. Others have begged the Pope to remove it from them out of an extreme spirit of humility. In 1059 we find St. Peter Damien renouncing the purple, which, however, he was obliged to reassume by command of the Pope in 1062. Blessed Andrew of St. Francis, of the great house of Conti, refused the hat in 1302, because he feared it might inflame his vanity. St. Vincent Ferrer did the same; and so did St. Francis Borgia, St. Philip Neri, and, in our own time, Prince Odescalchi, of the Order of Jesuits, grandnephew of Innocent XI., who renounced the dignity of Cardinal to become a Jesuit.

When a Cardinal dies, his body is embalmed, and exposed to the veneration of the public upon a bed of State, surrounded by several altars, at which Masses are said from an early hour after midnight to midday, for three successive days. On the third day the body is taken to the church, and placed upon a catafalque erected in the centre of the sacred edifice. The face of the corpse is covered with a white veil, and the violet robes of office which are worn in Lent enshroud the stiff figure of the deceased. His hands are crossed upon his breast, and at his feet is a metal cylinder. containing the acts of his life, his titles and name, written upon parchment, which, together with several coins of the reigning Pontiff, are buried with him.

If a Cardinal dies during the Conclave,

he is laid in State in the Sixtine Chapel: but the funeral does not take place until the close of that assembly. The Mass of Requiem is usually sung by a brother Cardinal, assisted by a domestic prelate of the Pope and the chaplain of the deceased. The body, as a rule, before the Italian occupation, was buried in the church which gave the title to the deceased in life. A Mass of Requiem is also said a few days after the death in the Pope's private chapel, at which His Holiness assists. November 5 is the day fixed for the celebration of a Mass for the repose of the souls of all the departed Cardinals since the days of Peter. This ceremony used to be performed on the same day as that of the Requiem of all Popes; but by a decree of Leo X. it was fixed for the above date, whereas the annual Mass for deceased Popes takes place on

September 5. The only ceremony connected with the Cardinalate which now remains to be described, is that of the taking possession of the titular church. This usually occurs in the afternoon. The church is beautifully decorated and illuminated for the occasion, and the square in front of it is sprinkled with yellow sand and box leaves. The coat of arms of the Cardinal is hung over the door, and remains there as long as he lives. It is also represented in the interior of the sacred edifice, under a plentiful hanging of crimson velvet. On either side of the choir are two portraits, one of the Pope, the other of the new Cardinal. A throne draped with scarlet is to the left of the high altar, which is ornamented with six tall wax tapers, often covered with illuminations. The Swiss Guards stand at the entry of the church and by the altar. The Cardinal arrives in his gala coach, robed in scarlet, and accompanied by a master of the pontifical ceremonies and a bishop. Three other coaches follow his, and contain his suite. These vehicles and their horses are caparisoned with scarlet cords and tassels. At the door of the church its clergy await His Eminence and conduct him to the altar. Here he is enthroned, and a notary of the Apostolic Chamber reads him the brief of the Pope confirming his right to the title and to its temporal and spiritual jurisdiction. The clergy then promise to obey the new

Cardinal, and proceed to kiss his ring. Te Deum is chanted, and benediction given, and His Eminence next pronounces a short allocution previous to withdrawing into the sacristy, where a crowd of persons of distinction or of his acquaintance come to kiss his hand and compliment him, and the ceremony is thereby concluded.

Such are the principal rules and ceremonies attendant upon the Cardinalate. It must, however, be remembered that since the occupation of Rome by the Italians, many of the ceremonies I have described are

omitted.



The Story of Romeo and Juliet.

By HENRY B. WHEATLEY, F.S.A.

PART II.



HE following parallel passages will show how often Shakespeare worked up the thoughts of others, when he considered them worthy of such

In the beautiful scene in the attention. garden, where the lovers meet alone for the first time (act ii. sc. 2), there are several special likenesses between the play and Brooke's poem besides the general resemblance, thus-

In windowe on her leaning arme her weary hed doth

See how she leans her cheek upon her hand.

Oh Romeus (of your life) too lavas sure you are, That in this place, and at thys tyme, to hasard it you

What if your dedly foes, my kinsmen, saw you here? Lyke lyons wylde, your tender partes asonder would Brooke. they teare.

The orchard walls are high and hard to climb, And the place death, considering who thou art, If any of my kinsmen find thee here.

Shakespeare. If wedlocke be the ende and marke which your desire hath found,

Both me and myne I will all whole to you betake, And following you where so you goe, my father's house forsake,

But if by wanton love and by unlawful sute You thinke in ripest yeres to pluck my maydenhods

dainty frute,
You are begylde; and now your Juliet you beseekes
To cease your sute, and suffer her to live emong her

If that thy bent of love be honourable, Thy purpose marriage, send me word to-morrow.

And all my fortunes at thy foot I'll lay And follow thee, my lord, throughout the world.

But if thou mean'st not well, I do beseech thee

To cease thy suit, and leave me to my grief.

The expression of Juliet's impatience for the hour which is to bless her with her husband's presence, and her beautiful soliloquy (act iii. sc. 2), in which she wishes the sun to hurry on his setting and night to come quickly, seem to have been suggested by the following lines in the poem :-

How long these lovers thought the lasting of the day, Let other judge that woonted are lyke passions to assay :

For my part, I do gesse eche howre seemes twenty

So that I deeme, if they might have (as of Alcume we

The sunne bond to theyr will, if they the heavens

might gyde, Black shade of night and doubled darke should straight all over hyde.

The parting scene between Romeo and Juliet (act iii. sc. 5) is described more fully in the poem than in the play. When Romeus arrives in Juliet's chamber both are mute-

But on his brest her hed doth joylesse Juliet lay And on her slender necke his chyn doth ruthfull Romeus stay;

and when the lovers part the signs of dawning day are more elaborately enumerated by Brooke than by Shakespeare, although the former does not mention the nightingale which is so beautifully introduced by the latter. When Lady Capulet comes to Juliet after Romeo has left, she chides her daughter for the excessive grief she exhibits for her cousin's death in much the same terms both in the poem and play-

For time it is that now you should our Tybalt's death forget

You cannot call him backe with teares and shrikings

It is a falt thus still to grudge at God's appoynted will.

Evermore weeping for your cousin's death? What wilt thou wash him from his grave with tears? An if thou couldst, thou couldst not make him live: Therefore have done. Some grief shows much of

But much of grief shows still some want of wit.

The directions given by Friar Laurence to Juliet (act iv. sc. 1) are founded upon those in the poem, where we read-

Receive this vyoll small and keepe it as thine eye And on the marriage day, before the sunne doe cleare

the skye,
Fill it with water full up to the very brim,
Then drink it off, and thou shalt feele throughout eche vayne and lim

A pleasant slumber slide, and quite dispred at length On all thy partes, from every part reve all thy kindly strength:

Withouten moving thus thy ydle parts shall rest No pulse shall goe, ne hart once beate within thy hollow brest

But thou shalt lye as she that dyeth in a traunce.

Shakespeare writes-

Take thou this vial, being then in bed, And this distilled liquor drink thou off; When presently through all thy veins shall run A cold and drowsy humour, for no pulse Shall keep his native progress, but surcease

Juliet's speech before she falls into the trance (act iv. sc. 3) is a condensed and greatly improved version of Brooke's vivid but lengthy description. When the time comes for taking the potion, natural fears

What doe I knowe (quoth she) if that this powder shall

Sooner or later then it should, or else not woorke at

Then she thinks of the vault where she will be laid, and of the bones of her ancestors and Tybalt's body ("a griesly thing to looke upon") which it contains, and

Then pressed with the feare that she there lived in, A sweate as colde as mountaine yse pearst through her slender skin.

It will only be necessary here to quote a few lines of Shakespeare's description-

I have a faint cold fear thrills through my veins That almost freezes up the heat of life. Come vial What if this mixture do not work at all?

To conclude, the two last lines of the play are a plain echo of those of the poem-

> For never was a story of more woe Than this of Juliet and her Romeo

There is no monument more worthy of the sight Then this the tombe of Juliet and Romeus her knight.

The inquiry into the amount of obligation that Shakespeare is under to the old story is one of very great interest, but the consideration of the differences which he has introduced is of still more value, as they vividly discover to us the consummate genius and judgment which he brought to bear upon the treatment of his subject. Shakespeare hurries on the action of the play, as he probably felt that precipitancy would make the misfortunes of the lovers seem more natural, and would give sharpness and reality to the whole. In the poem Romeus resorts to Capulet's garden many evenings before Juliet sees him, and the two lovers have three months of married life before the catastrophe occurs.

Shakespeare excites our imagination in respect to Romeo, who is not seen at first, but only talked about, and his father and mother (two characters who are not introduced in the poem), and Benvolio have the opportunity of speaking of him. Juliet's home is made by Shakespeare an unloving one in order to prepare her for Romeo's love, but in the poem it is otherwise. The first four scenes of the play are worked up from mere hints in the poem, which commences with the ball at Capulet's house. The hero and heroine are, in all essentials, creations of Shakespeare. In the poem they are lovers in whom we feel an interest, but in the play they are made the very impersonations of pure and true love, and have souls in ideal sympathy with each other. Shakespeare's Juliet is an almost perfect character, and she so completely carries captive our imagination and love that we easily forgive her deceit towards her parents; but Brooke's Juliet does not engage our sympathy in the same way. Although she is introduced to us in flattering terms-

She was also so wise, so lowly, and so mylde, That even from the hory hed unto the witlesse childe She won the hearts of all—

and although she firmly resolves to meet death rather than suffer the pollution of a second marriage, yet her chief characteristic is deceit, and she has not the same excuse for her conduct as the Juliet of the play, because Lady Capulet is drawn as a kind loving mother,

Whilst ruthfully stood by the maydens mother mylde; and even Capulet expresses himself as follows:

The whilst seeke you to learne, if she in any part Already hath (unware to us) fixed her frendly hart; Lest we have more respect to honor and to welth Then to our daughters quiet life, and to her happy helth:

Whom I do hold as deere as thapple of myne eye, And rather wish in poore estate and daughterles Then leave my goodes and her ythrald to such a one to dye.

Whose chorlish dealing (I once dead) should be her cause of mone.

Unfortunately he did not act up to his principles. Juliet was "a wily wench."

For sith, to mocke her dame, she did not sticke to lye, She thought no sinne with shew of truth to blear her nurces eye.

She is forward when she is with Romeus, but Shakespeare throws a delicacy all his own over the first meeting of the lovers, and his Juliet gives her love to Romeo without reserve, but with all the purity of her innocent soul. In the matter of age, Shakespeare has made Juliet much younger than the other narrators of the story. Capulet says—

She has not seen the change of fourteen years.
(Act i. sc. 2.)

In the poem we read—

Scarce saw she yet full sixteen yeres—too young to be a bryde;

and both Da Porto and Paynter make her eighteen years old. Romeo (being the complement of Juliet) was, I think, intended by Shakespeare as the perfect representative of a fine nobleman, one who gained the love of all who knew him, and was worthy of the love of such a woman as Juliet. In one instance Shakespeare seems to have been led into an inconsistency by his authority, for when Romeo is hiding in the friar's cell (act iii. sc. 3), Laurence uses much stronger words of reproof than Romeo's language or action seems to warrant, and asks—

Why rail'st thou on thy birth, the heaven and earth!

Now if we look at what has gone before we shall find that Romeo had not railed at all. However, in the poem he blames Nature, the author of his life, he curses his nurse "that gave him pappe," he rails on Fortune, and blames all the world. The long account in the poem of Romeo's behaviour is much reduced by Shakespeare, by which it greatly gains in dramatic power.

The next important character in the play, after the lovers, is Mercutio, and he, with all

his lightheartedness and wit,* is an entire creation of Shakespeare's. All we learn of him in the poem is contained in the following description, and the information that his hands were always as cold as ice-

At thone syde of her chayre her lover Romeo, And on the other syde there sat one cald Mercutio; A courtier that eche where was highly had in pryce, For he was coorteous of his speche, and pleasant of

Even as a lyon would emong the lambes be bolde, Such was emong the bashfull maydes, Mercutio to

With a richness of resource for which Shakespeare is remarkable, we find him creating two friends for Romeo-viz., Benvolio, the sharer of his serious, and Mercutio of his lighter, thoughts. In the poem Benvolio is a nameless friend, and Mercutio is no friend at all. The comic part of the play with Sampson and Gregory, and, in fact, all before the fifth scene of the first act, are Shakespeare's own. Paris is only mentioned in the poem, and his introduction in the tomb scene of the play merely to be killed by Romeo, is an example of Shakespeare's fondness for killing off his characters. Was this his own taste, or was it done to please the audience? Nothing is more worthy of remark than the art with which Shakespeare reduces and puts into a few words pages of the poem, and in other places amplifies a mere hint; thus we read in the poem :-

The Capilets disdayne the presence of theyr foe, Yet they suppresse theyr styrred yre, the cause I do not knowe:

which lines are beautifully worked up in the play so as to give Capulet an opportunity of showing the better side of his character-

I would not for the wealth of all the town, Here in my house do him disparagement,

he says to Tybalt, when that hot-headed man points out Romeo to him (act i. sc. 5).

These are, I think, the chief points worth

notice in the poem.

Paynter's novel of Rhomeo and Julietta contains most of the instances related in the poem, but they are told in a much balder style, without any of the incidental interest introduced by Brooke. As Shakespeare has

* In the first quarto of Romeo and Juliet Mercutio's speech on Queen Mab is given to Benvolio, evidently on account of the printer's omission of the word "Mer. VOL. VI.

used the Palace of Pleasure for other of his plays, it is probable that he read this particular novel, and he may have taken a hint from it. Thus in the poem no period is given for the operation of the opiate, but in Paynter it is said to be "forty hours at the least," and Shakespeare's time is "two and forty hours." Again, in the poem, Romeo pays the apothecary forty crowns, but in Paynter the amount is fifty ducats. Shakespeare chooses forty ducats, and he may have taken the coin from Paynter, and the number from Brooke.

The names of the characters in Paynter are more in accordance with the original Italian than those in the poem; thus Escalus is styled "Senior Escala," and Lord Bartholomew of Escala, and the Montagues are spoken of "Montesches;" but in some instances the French form is preferred, as in "Thibault," who is described as a strongly made young man of "dexteritye in armes." It would be tedious as well as useless to analyse the plot of Paynter's novel, but it is necessary to mention in passing that the description of the apothecary is here almost as full as in Brooke's poem.

The following short sketch of the argument of Luigi da Porta's story will be sufficient to

give some idea of the original.

It happened at Verona that, when the cruel enmity between the rival houses of Montecchi and Cappelletti had temporarily subsided, Antonio Cappelletti, the head of his family, gave entertainments, night and day, during Carnival. At one of these a young man of the house of Montecchi in pursuit of his mistress is present, and he is soon attracted towards the daughter of the host. Romeo dances with Juliet, and each falls deeply in love with the other. After parting at the ball, they each think over their feelings, and soon "court each other, sometimes at church, sometimes from a window, insomuch that neither was happy, except when they saw one another." "It happened one night, as love ordained, when the moon shone unusually bright, that whilst Romeo was climbing the balcony, the young lady (whether by chance, or that she had before heard him) opened the window, and looking out saw him." "After this, the youth, going

frequently to speak to her, it happened one night, when it snowed very much that he meeting her at the usual place, asked her to let him into her chamber." Juliet refuses, but agrees to marry Romeo. "Upon which having prudently put an end to their conversation, they parted." Romeo goes to Friar Lorenzo, who agrees to marry the lovers. One day, in Lent, Juliet goes to the convent of St. Francis to confess, and there the two are married. They now enjoy each other's love for several nights, and hope in time to find out "some means to appease the father of the lady;" but in the meantime the old and almost dead enmity between the two houses revives. In a street quarrel Romeo, with a single blow, stretches Tebaldo Cappelletti dead on the ground, and having been seen to commit this murder, he is banished. He only grieves at leaving Juliet, and gives way to no unmanly lamentations, but reaches Mantua half dead. Juliet is now always weeping, and her mother (whose name is Giovanna) imagines that she wants to be married. Messer Antonio, at his wife's suggestion, treats with one of the Counts Lodrone as a husband for Juliet, and is angered when she refuses to marry. Juliet goes with her mother to confession at the church of St. Francis, and tells her troubles to Friar Lorenzo, who gives her a potion that will make her sleep "for eight and twenty hours, more or less." She now returns home "so joyful that Messer Antonio and his lady lost all suspicion of her being in love, and imagined that it was in some strange melancholy mood she had shed so many tears, and they would willingly have left her quiet, without any further mention of marrying her; but they had proceeded so far in this matter, that they could not retract without blame." Juliet is sent to her father's villa with two aunts. and here after supper she takes the powder in water, which soon renders her like one dead. In the morning she is found on her bed, and one of the first physicians in Verona pronounces her quite dead, so that she is at once buried." Friar Lorenzo, in the meantime, had gone a little out of the city to transact some business relative to his convent, and had given Juliet's letter, which was to be sent to Romeo, to a friar who was going to Mantua, and who, being arrived in that city,

and calling two or three times on Romeo, and unfortunately never finding him at home, nor being willing to deliver it into any other, kept it. Romeo, on hearing of Juliet's death from Pietro, disguises himself as a peasant, and with a phial of serpent's water in his sleeve, set off for Verona. He goes straight to the tomb, where he sees "his beautiful Juliet lying amidst the bones and rags of many dead bodies." He bewails her loss, and after taking the poisonous water, ardently embraces his wife, who returns to life to find herself the most miserable of women. Romeo dies soon after, and Juliet, holding her breath for a long space, sends it forth with a loud cry, and falls dead upon the dead body of her husband. Lorenzo, who has come to see after Juliet, is caught by the watch, and when he is brought before the Prince he tells a false story. He would have been believed, had not some monks who wished him ill exposed his lies, and he is forced to tell the truth. The story ends with the reconcilement of the two fathers, "so that the long enmity between them and their families, which neither the prayers of their friends, the threats of their Prince, detriments received by it, nor time itself, had ever been able to abate, through the unhappy and affecting death of the two lovers was terminated."

Some critics have been hardy enough to affirm that Shakespeare was misled by the poem into making his play end as it does; and they further assert, that, had he seen the Italian tale, he would have brought Juliet to life before Romeo dies. Surely this exhibits blindness to poetical beauty and a total misunderstanding of Shakespeare's art. A conversation between the lovers in the vault is unnecessary, as it would not help on the action of the piece, and it would at once take off half the beauty from the parting scene. Garrick, who, with tasteless ingenuity, improved Shakespeare's play for the stage, struck out the character of Rosaline, and made some of the passages relating to her do duty for Juliet, and also revived Juliet

before Romeo's death.

Lope de Vega wrote a tragi-comedy on the loves of Romeo and Juliet, entitled Castelvine's y Montesos,* which play is of

 Translated and privately printed by Mr. F. W. Cosens in 1869.

great interest, as showing how changed a plot may become owing to the different treatment it undergoes. In many instances the incidents can be recognized, but the final result is entirely original. The hero has a Leporello-like attendant, who makes the tombscene amusing. Julia's potion ceases to act when Roselo comes to her, and as he does not take poison the two lovers are happy in the end.

I have now noticed some of the chief sources of the story of Romeo and Juliet, and I will, in conclusion, refer in the briefest possible manner to the treatment that Shakespeare's own play has received at the hands of those who esteemed themselves better judges of what a play should be than the great author himself. James Howard altered Romeo and Juliet into a tragi-comedy, and Sir William Davenant's company acted on alternate days the tragedy and the tragi-comedy. A little later, Otway hashed up a part of the play with a plot taken from Plutarch and Lucan, and he called his mixture Caius Marius. Theophilus Cibber, Garrick, Thomas Sheridan, Lee, Marsh, and others, have tried their hands at "improving" Shakespeare's play, but it is not necessary to follow the intricacies of their tasteless alterations. It is sufficient for us to know that we have the work as it came from the master hand, and that their puny efforts to injure it are now forgotten.

THORUS NO.

The Domesday of Colchester.

By J. H. ROUND.

PART IV.



HURCHES.—Though Mr. Freeman had the good fortune to find "several churches" in the Survey,* I have failed to discover more than two,

that of St. Peter, within the Walls, and that (of St. Andrew) in the hamlet of Greenstead. But that there were other churches, or at least chapels, we may very fairly assume.†

* "The Survey mentions several churches" (Arch.

Fourn. xxxiv. 69).

+ "There can be no doubt that a large number of churches or chapels, though many but of small extent, did exist at the time of Domesday" (Domesday of Wilts, lxvii.).

Seven priests occur among the burgesses, and possibly connote as many chapels.* Ipswich again, though no larger, had nine churches.† At Norwich there were twenty churches and forty-three chapels. Lividently the Survey did not profess to record the churches as such, but only those which possessed some financial interest.§ And at Colchester there is special evidence, though indirect. "Siric (Sigeric) the Priest" appears, only ten years later, with his "little wooden church of St. John the Evangelist," and six years after that, I the chapel of St. Helen is spoken of, as if of some standing.

But to return to the two which are entered. Greenstead has been noticed above, and that of St. Peter appears thus :-

"In Colecestrâ est quædam ecclesia Sancti Petri quam tenuerunt ii. presbyteri, T.R.E., in elemosina regis cui adjacent ii. hidæ terræ. . . . De hac elemosina reclamat Robertus filius radulfii de hatingis (sic) iii. partes et eudo dapifer tenet quartam," &c.

This case has been selected in The Norman Conquest** as an instance in which "the right of a church to alms is disputed." But in this Mr. Freeman is mistaken. He has overlooked the fact that, on the previous page, Eudo is credited with the ownership of a fourth part of the *church*†† which carried with it, as a matter of course, a fourth part of the glebe. Church and glebe were in fact inseparable, ## and the term "elemosina" includes them both. Robert de Hastings, \$\$

* "The officers of the Exchequer who abridged inquisitions considered the entry of the one as in most cases implying the existence of the other" (Introduction, ii. 189). Yet, observe at Derby, "i. æclesia tion, 11. 1097. 1007. cum vii. clericis" (i. 280). † ii. 290. † ii. 116.

† ii. 290. ‡ ii. 116. § "A few cases are named, but they are invariably those in which some land belonged to them as an endowment, which lands were subject to geld. Where such glebe lands did not exist, the mention of churches in Domesday is to be regarded only as incidental" (Domesday of Wilts, lxvi.). So at Ipswich, "I. æcclia scae mariæ de xxvi. ac," "I. æccliam sci augustini de xi. ac," &c. (ii. 290). So, too, Eyton Dorset Domesday, 42.

Vol. v. 805–806. ## Cum quarta parte æcclesiæ sancti petri" (ii. 106 b.).

As is illustrated by the formula "cui adjacent." o, "una hida quæ jacuit in ecclesia S. Pauli" (i. 209). So too "una ecclesia in qua jacent . . bovatæ terræ" (i. 280).

§§ This entry supplies the missing link in the origin

therefore, instead of disputing the rights of this church, was in fact claiming the threefourths share of the church itself, which would carry with it, as of clear right, three-fourths of the glebe.*

The church and glebe, as was not unusual, had formerly belonged to two Priests.† Such a case seems to hint at a married clergy,

transmitting hereditary benefices.‡

It should perhaps be noticed that the present churches within the walls§ must all have stood on Roman viæ.

MILLS.—Four mills are mentioned in the Survey. The one at Greenstead was still standing in 1648 (as shown by the "Siegemap"), but has long since disappeared. The other three are undoubtedly identical with "North Mill," "East Mill," and "Middle Mill," the three water mills below the But their respective ownership borough. must remain conjectural.** We only learn that the Bishop's Mill had not been long erected, and that it had added notably to the value of his estate. †† Of North Mill there

of the Hastings family. But though the omission of the "s" is patent, Morant, Marsh, Ellis, and even Mr. Freeman himself, have failed to detect the true reading.

* Cases in which churches were robbed of their glebe, will be found at ii. 2, and ii. 42 (Swegen), and at ii. 116 b. (Wihenoc); but this was by open

violence, and under no pretence of claim.

+ Domesday passim. The best instance is at Huntingdon, "exclesia S. Marie et terra que ad ean pertinet fuit exclesiæ de Torny. Rex E. autem dedit eam Vitali et Bernardo presbyteris et E. autem dedit earn Vital et Bernardo pressyteris et ipsi vendiderunt Hugoni. Hugo vero vendidit earn II. presbyteris de huntedune et habent inde sigillum regis. E. Eustachius modo habet sine liberatore," (i. 108). This important passage illustrates (1) the sale of benefices; (2) the inseparability of church and glebe; (3) their joint seizure by the

I suspect that (as we saw at Lammarsh) the shares of St. Peter's had been unequal, and remained the

same when granted to the Normans. ‡ Stubbs' Const. Hist., i. 233. Eight churches and one chapel.

It has recently been suggested that the sites of Westminster Abbey and St. Margaret's Church were determined by the same consideration.

¶" Wherever a mill is specified, we generally find it still subsisting" (Introduction, ii. 122).

** One belonged to the Bishop, one to St. Peter's, and one to Leofleda (see above).

†+ Modo I molendinum. Tunc et post valuit xl. solidos. Modo I (ii. II). The value varied greatly. The Crown Mill at Huntingdon yielded 68 shillings!

remains but the tradition. East Mill is still at work, and was a post of importance in the famous siege,* as was also the Middle Mill. The latter, soon after the Survey, was taken possession of by the Crown for the benefit of the Royal Castle.† Adjoining it is still "the Mill Acre," one of the primitive lots which formed the King's Meadow.‡

Manorial Houses .- Manors are constantly found in Domesday, to the possession of which is attached that of one or more town-houses, situated almost always in the chief town of the county. Of this the Domesday of Colchester affords an excellent example. On collating its entries with those in the county I find the list is as fol-

The Abbess of Barking held three houses in right of her manor of Wigborough; || the Abbot of Westminster two, in right of his manor of Feering; The monks of St. Andrew one, in right of Mersea (of this Waleran had

ANTIQUARY, i. 21.

+ So at Povington, "Hujus Manerii Molinus calumniatus est ad opus Regis" (i. 80 b.), i.e., for the Castle he was founding at Corfe (Dorset Domesday, 42). The Middle Mill was hence also known as the King's Mill, and a third of it was granted by Henry I. to St. Botolph's, just as the King's Mill in Canterbury was granted by Stephen to St. Augustine's (Bat-

was granted by Stephen to St. Augustine's (Bat-(teley's Somner, App. vii. a).

\$\pm\$ So in Charter of 982 A.D. quoted by Kemble.

"The mill-stead, the mill, and so much of the mark land as belongs to 3 hides." In the Agricultural Report for Wilts (p. 259), quoted by Jones (Domesday of Wilts, xliv.), a Mill-ham (the equivalent to the Domesday phrase seets wolfing), which is design. the Domesday phrase sedes molini, by which is designated the miller's homestead and portion of the meadow attached to the mill) is defined to be "a narrow strip of ground by the side of a river.

§ This is a point of some importance, as Mr. Coote assumed (pp. 377-380) that the estates orginally belonged to the houses (according to the Roman system), but that under the later Anglo-Saxon Monarchy, the houses came to be regarded as belonging to the estates. He thus traces it to a Roman origin. But though he finds plenty of evidence for the "later" practice, he only has one (in 832) of the "earlier," and even that is not a case at all, being only an instance of a few acres on the outskirts of Canterbury forming the share of the common land belonging to a lot house (see case at Nottingham in my Archaic Tenure), with its rights in the common wood (communionem silvæ). Thus his argument wholly fails. The Romans, in short, subjected the country to the town, but the English the town to the country

|| Huic manerio pertinent iii domus in colecastro

(ii. 18, cf. ii. 107)

¶ Granted by the Conqueror (ii. 14, 106 b).

despoiled them);* Otto Aurifaber three, in right of Shalford; Ralph Peverel five, in right of Terling;† Ralph Baynard one, in right of Tolleshunt;† Swegen of Essex one, in right of Elmstead ;‡ Geoffrey de Magnaville two, in right of Ardleigh; and Earl Eustace one (burgess), in right of Rivenhall. these must be added four houses within the burgus, two of them belonging to St. Peter's land in the civitas, and two to Godric's. But these stood on a different footing; every one of these houses was held subject to consuetudo.

Moneyers.—The financial entries at Colchester are, though full, so obscure as to be almost unintelligible. It is clear, however, that there were moneyers, T.R.E., paying annually four pounds. It is also clear, from the Borough Oath-Book,§ that the firma burgi in 32 Henry II. (compare Pipe Roll, 2 Henry II.) had been lessened by £4 in default of four moneyers.|| We may assume then that four was the standing number, though it cannot be proved from the Survey. In any case, coins of William have been found, stamped with the names of four \mathbb{q}-namely, fifty of Wulfric (PULFRIL), twenty-two of Aelfsige (IELFSI), sixteen of Wulfwine (PULFPINE), who had coined also before the Conquest,** and eight of Derman (DIRMAN.) ††

In addition to the moneyers' tribute, "the Burgesses of Colchester and of Maldon's

* Est in colecestrâ i domus quæ pertinuit huic terræ. Waleran eam abstulit (ii. 22).

+ Ibid. ii. 107. # Sueno i domum, &ca (ii. 106 b.) cf. ii. 48. Almestedam tenuit Robert filius Wimarc. Modo Suen. (This proves him to have been Swegen of Essex.) The next house had also been Robert's, but was not Swegen's. I have detected a new grandson of Swegen in "Walter son of Robert Suein," of the St. John's chartulary. This suggests that Henry de Essex was son of Robert, and grandson of Swegen (see Norman Canadact in 1967).

Conquest, iv. 736-738). § Morant's Colchester, i. 46. || In some towns the moneyer seems to have paid £1 a year, and in others one mark (13s. 4d.), and £1 extra quando moneta vertebatur. The latter was extra firmam.

¶ Archæologia, xxvi. 96. ** "Wulfwi on colncester" (penny of Harold),

Archæalogia, iv. 363.

†† Deremannus, I domum (Burgess Roll in Survey).

Compare Norman Conquest, v. 791. A moneyer's

Suetman monetarius I domum liberam reddentem xl d. (i. 154.)

paid £,20 for the privilege of their mint (pro moneta.)*

FINANCE-

Est autem consuetudo ut unoquoque anno quinto decimo die post pascham reddant burgenses regii duas marcas argenti et hoc pertinet ad firmam regis. Præterea de unaquaque domo per annum VI. denarios, quæ reddere potest ad victum soldariorum regis. vel. ad expetitionem terræ vel maris; et hoc non est ad firmam. Et hoc sit si rex soldarios habuerit vel expetitionem fecerit.

Et propter hos vi. denarios tota civitas ex omnibus debitis reddebat T.R.E. xv. l. v s. iiii, d. in unoquoque anno. De quibus reddebant monetarii iiii. l. T.R.E.

Modo reddit iiiixx l, et vi sextarios mellis vel solidos iiii. Et præter hoc c solidos vicecomiti xl solidos iiii. Et præter hoc c solidos viceconius de gersuma. Et x s. et viii d. ad prebendarios pascendos. Et præter hoc reddunt burgenses de Colecestra et de Melduna xx l. pro moneta. constituit Waleramus et advocant regem adturtorem quod condonavit illis x l. et tenens Walchelin episcopo querit ab illis xl l. (ii. 107, 107, b.)

By thus dividing the entries we make them somewhat clearer. To begin with those which are least obscure, the £40 spoken of at the close was the true firma burgi. This is proved by the Pipe Rolls.† Hence, Wal chelin was then a custos of the town, and held it at ferm. If tenens episcopo be rightly translated "holding it from the Bishop," Bishop of London must have held it from the Crown,§ and sub-let it to Walchelin, but I am inclined to believe that both at Ipswich and Colchester, the town was already held at ferm from the custos by the corpus burgensium theniselves, and that this Walchelin was merely the Bishop's secular agent. Here again the mysterious Waleran|| confronts us, and the entry, as shown by the analogy of Ipswich¶, proves that he must have been the former custos,** and, as such, arranged the ferm. He, also, had reduced it by £, 10.

* So at Gloucester, "de moneta habet rex xx lib." (i. 162) and Ipswich, "et monetarii reddebant T. R. E. iv. lib. pro moneta, modo debent reddere xx lib. (ii.

+ Firma Civitatis Colecestr'. (Pipe Roll, 1130.)

The town and castle were long after committed to one custos, who accounted for the firma burgi till the reign of Henry II.

As did his successor in 1216.

He turns up at Norwich, "vastati par-

tim per Walerannum'' (ii. 117b.)

¶ Et Roger vicecomes dedit totum ad firmam pro xl lib. . . . non potuit habere censum, et ex hoc condonavit lx sol. Modo reddit xxxvii lib. (ii. 290 b.)

** Possibly till his death shortly before the Survey.
He may, when custos, have seized the monks' house.

But, this being so, why is the ferm, higher up, given at "£80 and 6 sextaries of honey?" This, I confess, seems inex-The gersuma was here a fee to plicable. the sheriff.* It is singular that the ten and eightpence to the prebendaries was just half what Norwich paid.+ There remains the question of the military service. Mr. Freeman has called attention to the historical importance of that entry:

The borough had clearly been, before the coming of William, allowed to make a money composition for military service in the fyrd... It is possible that we have here the key to the fact that so many English burgers of Calpacter remained and introduction. lish burgesses of Colchester remained undisturbed . . Here is a point which touches the general history of England" ("Arch. Journ. xxxiv. 69).

We must, of course, accept the explanation of so eminent an authority, yet there are one or two points which may tend to modify this view. (1.) Such commutations were only payable when the fyrd was actually called out.‡ At Colchester, on the other hand, by a solitary exception, it is most carefully specified that the payment is to be annual. (2.) The rate of sixpence a house appears to represent the ordinary gafol, s and not to have formed a special imposition. The expression non est ad firmam can be exactly paralleled at Huntingdon and at Stamford, in both which cases the gafol did not form part of the ferm.|| (3.) The soldarii here, as Mr. Freeman reminds us, were "doubtless the house-carls." ¶ But though Exeter contributed to the support of the house-carls,** this did not exempt her from service in the fyrd. (4.) If it be urged that

* Gersuma did not mean "the Queen's Gold" unless qualified by regina (as at Worcester and Oxford,) At Edesham the £5 de gersuma was paid to the

† Norwich paid £1 1s. 4d. and Ipswich 8s.

‡ Quando rex ibat &ca (i.154,230) eunte rege (i.238) &ca. &ca.

§ The usual gafol in towns was about 7d. a house, so this arrangement was a favourable one. We are told that all the houses paid gafol, and it was evidently here not included in the ferm (see below).

|| De toto hoc burgo exibant x lib. de Landgable T.R.E....Prater hac habebat rex xx lib. et comes x lib. de firma burgi (i.203). Modo dat ad firmam L lib. De omnibus consuctudinibus regis modo dat xxviii. lib. (i. 336). Compare Cambridge, De consuctudi-nibus hujus villæ vii. lib. per. annum, et de Landgable vii. lib et ii. oræ et ii. den (i. 189).

¶ So in Exon Domesday adopus militum is rendered

ad solidarios.

** Norman Conquest, iv. 147.

there is no entry specifying the contingent due to the fyrd, it may be replied that such entries only occur where a special numerical composition has been made,* the service in ordinary cases being simply that of the Hundred, and, as such, needing no specification.+ (5.) This portion of the Crown dues may have been permanently appropriated to the support of the household officers, ‡ just as the whole of them were, four centuries later.§

These objections may not be insuperable, and it is possible that Mr. Freeman may be able, from his wider knowledge, to dispose of them. Yet they impel us to receive the theory with caution, though at first sight The paragraph plausible and ingenious. which follows can only be made intelligible by reading præter for propter. || It then becomes the usual statement of the firma T.R.E. This was £15 5s. 4d. It had thus, we see, been largely raised, a fact which throws some doubt on William's leniency to the burgesses.¶

Of the actual ferm, T.R.E., the moneyers contributed £4, and the king's burgesses £1 6s. od.** The rent of the king's demesne lands may possibly be put at about £3, and there would remain £7 to be accounted for. This may have chiefly proceeded from the

consuetudo on the land. ††

We now come to the Danegeld. Of this the mention is only incidental, for Colchester,

There is no entry at Ipswich or Norwich, nor at Chester, &ca.

* As there were twenty hundreds in Essex, Colchester would have contributed one-twentieth of the county force. It is strange that so late as 1585, it contributed eight men out of 150 levied on the county and thirteen (out of 250) in 1588.

‡ See Hale (Domesday of St. Paul's, xxxviii.) on

"the appropriation of Manors," ad victum.

§ Rol. Parl. 1485, 1495.

|| Propter is a most unlikely construction, and is actually negatived by the de quibus.

¶ Mr. Freeman argued that their composition for fyrd saved them from the guilt and from the penalties of treason.

** These due marce may be referred to in the expression non reddunt consuetudinem nisi de suis capitibus, which suggests that they were raised by a poll tax (compare the expression per capita in Fitz Osbert's

rising, 1194).

†† That there was a special consuctudo on the land (as in any rural manor) is proved by the case of the Lexden hides and by the entry "de terra sua et de hida... non est reddita consuetudo" (ii. 106). This must have been distinct from the house-dues.

as I have shown, being rated as a Hundred, paid geld as for a hundred hides. It would seem, however, to occur twice as scot.* In the case of the Lexden hides geld is clearly meant by it, \dagger and also, we may fairly assume, in the Bishop's fee. It should be noticed that the auxilium which replaced the geld \ddagger was £20 in 1130, and on all subsequent occasions.§

Lastly, I would repeat, of these financial entries, that my elucidations can only be regarded as tentative, and that further explanation would be most welcome.

CONCLUSION.

What light has our inquiry thrown upon the origin of our most ancient towns? Perhaps the most salient feature revealed in the Survey of Colchester is the stamp of a primitive rural community imprinted on a walled and populous town, a former Roman colonia. We have there seen, still existent, the traces of an earlier and simpler life, of a village

δθι ποιμένα ποιμήν ηπύει εἰσελάων,

where a little clan of ploughmen and shepherds held in common the land around them, field and pasture, wood and mead. Whence are we to trace this village life? May we

* So at Ipswich, et cccxxviii. mansiones vastatæ sunt in burgo quæ T.R.E. scottabant ad geltum regis. (Being vastatæ, they no longer paid geld.) But though scot may at times mean geld, it does not always do so.

† So at Lincoln. "Duæ vero (carucatæ) sunt in geldo cum burgensibus" and at York, "in geldo civitatis sunt iiiixx. carucatæ terræ" (i. 298). The grievance of the burgesses which (as I have shown under "Lexden") was wholly misunderstood by Mr. Freeman, is well illustrated by the case of Shrewsbury, where the same geld was exacted, though the rateable area has been lessend (i. 252).

rreeman, is well illustrated by the case of Shrewsbury, where the same geld was exacted, though the rateable area has been lessend (i. 252).

‡ Hist. Norm. Cong. v. 440.

§ See Pipe Rolls. This would represent four sh. on the hide (compare Const. Hist. i. 581). May this possibly throw light on the "obscure" Danegeld quarrel of 1163 (Const. Hist. i. 462) by hinting that there were two rates of two shillings each?

|| Though the pasture actually in commonalty was not large at the time of the Survey, yet the great extent of the "Lammas lands," long held in semi-commonalty, preserve unmistakable traces of the village community.

¶ "The King's Wood", must have once been the common wood of the community, before the King became its Lord.

carry back our thoughts to the Celtic clan, clustering around that great Mai-dun, which, I believe, we may dimly picture to ourselves crowning the steep hill-side? Surely we must deem that a Roman colonia, the oldest of all, and one of the most populous, must have supplanted so effectually that earlier polity, as to present to the incoming English the mere wreck of a city community. But how are we to reconcile this undoubted fact, the settlement of Colchester on the mark system, with the antipathy of the early English to life in awalled town? Did the original village community establish itself without the walls, down by the stream, in the " Middle Borough ?" Yet, if so, why was the Roman fossa chosen for their common pasture?* Again, how did these shepherd-kings treat the surviving citizens? Did they employ them as Helots or Gibeonites, "hewers of wood and drawers of water," or did they merely keep them aloof as was the fate of the Pfalburger of Augsburg? The analogy of Exeter would seem to favour the latter hypothesis, though at Colchester the distinction of race had earlier merged in that

Another problem is suggested by the fact that Lexden, though then lying, at least for the most part, within the extra-hundredal Liberties of Colchester, had given its name to an adjoining Hundred. Was it originally the chef-lieu, or rather the trysting-place, of that Hundred, before Colchester was of sufficient importance to be marked off as a Hundred of itself? In any case, there can be no doubt of the one important fact that "Old English Colchester" was a territorial district—not a mere walled town, but an entire Hundred, in the sense of "a greater mark."‡ And thus, through the medial stage of the Hundred, our oldest towns had their true origin in the mark, and not in the burh.§

* This seems to point distinctly at life within the

† Norm. Conq. (1st ed.) i. 308. Surely (unless we are to accept the very rash hypothesis of the butchery of the city populations), this explanation affords a via media in this difficult question. What happened later texter may have happened earlier at Colchester, and the vanquished may have survived as a subject population to emerge as a subject class.

‡ Const. Hist. i. 99, 403.
§ "The common lands of the burk testified to its origin in a state of society in which the mark system

But we have yet to consider one factor of the problem-the king. How and when did he become Lord of Colchester? This question, which is equally applicable to most other of the English towns, is not easy to answer, for it involves the further question: how had the settlement been founded? On royal demesne, or on folkland, or as a free township? Now we are told by Professor Stubbs that the royal "property in land may fall under three heads," (1) " private estate," (2) "demesne of the Crown;" (3) "rights over the folkland," which "merged in the crown demesne" after the time of Ethelred* (or, indeed, Alfred).† Unfortunately, Mr. Freeman's view is so coloured by political prepossession as to be irreconcileable with that established by Professor Stubbs. He ignores the existence of Crown demesne, and sees only private estate, and administrative rights over the folkland. He also long post-dates the conversion of the latter into Terra Regis. 1 But, on either hypothesis, the theory that these communities were "founded on the folkland" seems selfcontradictory.§ For if they were free communities, they would not have been "founded" by any one, and certainly not on the folkland (which was granted out to *individuals*), and if dependent, they would have had a private lord, and not have passed into the hands of the Crown. Colchester, then, must have first stood on original Crown demesne, or must have been a free community.

The unfailing evidence of the land points to the latter conclusion, both in the peculiar traces of commonage, and in the special division of the King's meadow. The King was clearly an extraneous factor of wholly subse-

was not yet forgotten" (Const. Hist. i. 93). But compare ib. 83-85. The point to be insisted on is that, as throughout the English polity, their origin was rural and not urban, and that the actual walled burk was only a portion of their original area. the fact which has hitherto been so persistently overlooked.

* Const. Hist. i. 142.

† The folkland was virtually becoming king's land from the moment that the West Saxon monarch became the sole ruler of the English. Const. Hist. i.

193; ib. i. 103.

"After the Norman Conquest these two kinds of possession got confounded," i. 94 (1st ed.).

"Where such communities were founded

"Court Hist. i. 93. on the folkland." Const. Hist. i. 93.

quent introduction. On the other hand, we have evidence from the same source that Colchester had been a Royal Lordship for generations before the Conquest.* This is shown by the shape of the demesne lands, over which no man had built even to our own days. They must have been marked off at a comparatively early period, before houses had begun to cluster thickly within the walls. We shall probably, therefore, arrive at the conclusion that the change in the status of Colchester was effected during the latter portion of the old English period. It was but a phase of that process of development, by which, as Professor Stubbs has ably shown,† the foundations of a future feudalism were laid upon a free society. And its chief agent was jurisdiction. When every man had to seek a Lord, and when the King became Lord of all those who had no other, the fate of Colchester and of like communities was inevitable. Too powerful to fall a prey to any private Lord, they passed, without a struggle, into the hands of the King himself. And so it was that their ancient liberties were overshadowed for a while in gloom, but only to emerge once more intact when sturdily wrested, inch by inch, from the grasp of their Lord the King.



Daganism in Modern Christianity,

By J. FREDERICK HODGETTS,

Examiner to the University and District of Moscow, Professor of English in the Imperial College of Practical Science of Moscow.



T is impossible to contemplate the mode of English them. various idiomatic ways of expressing thought in English at the present

day, without being reserred back at every step to the manners and customs of our forefathers, as affording the safest light in in-

* Compare Larking on the status of Dover (Domes-day of Kent, 15.) The Manorial Houses being all subject to Crown rent, it seems probable that they were a somewhat late addition to the manors, at a period when town-life began to have charms for the rural Thegn.

+ Const. Hist. i. 184-191.

vestigating the true meaning of sayings and observances not very clearly understood, but religiously preserved by us. In pursuing such an inquiry we are struck by observing that, in the majority of these cases of difficulty, we are led to seek their explanation in some other source than corrupt Norman-French, or still more corrupt Latin literature.

As our vocabulary contains more than two-thirds of pure English words to one-third of words taken from other and very varied sources, while the backbone of the language remains sturdily Saxon, so the mode of thought animating the English mind in the Victorian age is, to the full, as Scandinavian as it was before the first Goth flung his gar or javelin at the gates of Imperial Rome. Now, as the ideas which our warlike ancestors entertained on religious subjects were drawn from the Scandinavian creed, a very perfect and elaborate system of Paganism, it would follow, from the above remark, that certain fundamental notions-not only mere words and phrases, but thoughts, opinions, and feelings—still lived on, after the reception of Christianity by the Scandinavian conquerors of Britain; and, Pagan though they be, they have not been expelled at all. They have been clad in Christian guise, it is true, but their origin is purely Pagan, and Pagan they remain.

Thus, even at the very centre of modern English refinement, Religion, we find, not traces merely of Pagan thought, but Odinic customs which have proved too strong for all reformers, from St. Augustine downwards.

A Christian grandfather who invites his children and his grandchildren and another generation beyond that to share what is emphatically considered to be Christian cheer, provided for them at his hospitable board, at the most emphatically Christian period of the year, Christmas, does, on identically the same day (allowing for the slip in the calendar) as nearly as possible the same thing that his Pagan ancestor did some centuries before the Christian era! Nor has the mighty arm of the Church been able to banish the Pagan name for this Pagan feast from our truly Christian island, for Yule-fires, Yule-logs, and Yule-tide are

favourite Christmas terms in many parts of England, the word Yule being known in all.

This ancient name for Christmas is still used throughout all Scandinavia. Swedes, Danes, and Norwegians wish each other a "Glad Yule," as we say "A Merry Christmas to you!" This alone would serve to draw our attention to Scandinavia, even if no other reason existed for searching there for the origin of our great Christian feast. The grand storehouses of Pagan lore, as far as the Northern nations of Teutonic race are concerned, are the two Eddas, and if we refer to the part or chapter of Snorri Sturlson's Edda, known as Gylfa Ginning, we shall find the twelfth name of Odin, the Father of the Gods, or Allfather, given as Jalg, or Jalkr (pronounced yolk, or yulg). The Christmas tree, introduced into Russia by the Scandinavians, is called ëlka (pronounced yolka), and in the times just preceding and just after the conquest of Britain by the English, this high feast of Odin was held in mid-winter, under the name of Jalka tid, or Yule-tide. It was celebrated at this season, because the Vikings, being then unable to go to sea, could assemble in their great halls and temples, and drink to the gods they served so well. Another reason was that it fell towards the end of the last of the twelve mystic monaths that made up the mythological as well as the cosmical cycle of the year, and was, therefore, appropriately designated by the last of the names by which Odin is called in the Edda.

The brightest of the gods, "the White God" Baldur (Baldr, or Balder), was the purest of the sons of Odin; and, as the service of this deity is identified with that of his father, it will be necessary in arriving at a clear conception of the origin of Christmas and the observances connected with it, to give a brief view of the myth of Baldur. He is said to have been greatly beloved by gods and men. His face shone with splendour, and his pure brow "was called the sun." He was gentle and good, though brave and warlike. The spouse of this deity was a mortal called Nanna, who was greatly respected by the Aesir for her beauty and virtue, she was permitted intercourse with both worlds; in short, not to speak irreverently, she seems to have been a sort of mythic impersonation of what subsequently

came to be styled "the Church."

We are told that when Baldur was born he was accompanied into the world by a twin brother called Höder, who had the misfortune to be born blind. This is physically significative of the fact that darkness and light are inseparably correlative; morally, of the law that evil is the perversion or rejection of good. The Sagaman observes quaintly on this myth, that "All evil is born blind." This twin brother of Baldur, Höder by name, is the cause of all dissensions among men, and creates discord wherever he goes. He is disliked by the gods, who are bold and hardy warriors. Among the twelve Aesir, however, there is one who admits him to his friendship. This is the calumniator of the gods, Utgàrd Loki, the evil genius of Valhalla; to him no honours are paid, no altars erected. He is the one of the twelve who is a traitor! At the birth of Baldur it was foretold by the Fate of the Future, Skuld, that Baldur should fall by a mortal weapon unless all created objects should swear a solemn oath never to injure him. Nanna, being of mortal origin, was despatched to earth for the purpose of winning the desired promise from every created thing. Her known virtue and goodness had already gained her the goodwill of every object, animate or inanimate, that made up the world; but when her eloquence, combined with her beauty, was brought to bear on all "trees and flowers, stones and metals, earth and water, fire and air," they all most readily gave the required promise, save and except the mistletoe, which, being a parasite of the oak, had been overlooked when the oath was exacted from that tree. Some say that Utgàrd Loki sat near the bough, in the shape of a white crow, thus hiding it from the view, and that afterwards, in punishment, the crow has always been black.

The mistletoe having been thus omitted, Utgard Loki had no difficulty in maturing his plan for the destruction of Baldur. He speedily shaped an arrow of this wood, and, disguised as an old woman, prevailed on Nanna to take it with her to Valhalla to be rendered resistless in war by being discharged at Baldur; who, in consequence of the vow,

had become insensible to the effects of any blow from any weapon. The gods had invented a game, in which they discharged their various weapons at him. Baldur was placed with his back to a tree, which has in consequence become immortal. This tree can never fade, but remains ever green, and is known as the holly tree. Nanna, taking the opportunity afforded by this game, presents her arrow. Each of the gods, anxious to please so good and so popular a personage, wishes to discharge her shaft, when Utgard Loki points out that, owing to his misfortune in being born blind, Höder has never tried his hand when Baldur has played target. The gods yield to the justice of this statement, and Höder is permitted to take up his position, bow in hand, with the fatal mistletoe shaft. Loki, standing behind him, directs his aim. The shaft, on its way to the heart of Baldur, is seen by Odin's war bird, the cock, which, flying up from the ground, tries, in vain, to intercept it. On flies the shaft and pierces the White God's breast, who falls against the holly tree, which ever since bears drops of his blood, in the shape of red berries amid the leaves.

Hela, the goddess of the Under World, claims her rights—the dead must be hers, god or mortal; and now a warm debate arises as to whether this right can be evaded or set aside altogether. At last Hela consents to waive her claim if all created objects will

agree to weep for Baldur.

Again is Nanna despatched to Middle Earth, and again do her beauty and eloquence succeed in winning from "hearts of stone," from "stocks, trees, animals, men, streams, seas, hills, metals, and flowers," the promise to weep for Baldur; all save and except a little flower growing near a stone, upon which stone Utgàrd Loki was sitting in the guise of an old woman, whose flowing robe hid the flower from Nanna's eyes. Nanna had taken the mistletoe shaft to collect the tears on, and he who looks will find them there in the form of little white berries.

The absence of the tears of the little white flower (which has since become blue from sorrow, and was heard to murmur something—was it "Forget me not"?—as Nanna passed) gave Hela fresh right to Baldur's body, and

she would have borne it off to her drear domain for ever, had not Odin stepped in with a compromise, and decreed Baldur should remain half the year in Valhalla, and half the year with Hela. To this Hela agreed, and the bargain was concluded.

The cock that endeavoured to save Baldur's life at the risk of his own, was now appointed his special attendant. It heralds his approach, and awakens Jostra (Oestra, Eostra, English Easter), who keeps one of the four gates of the universe. She was connected with spring, and sister to Hertha (Jorta, Earth). She strews Baldur's path to Valhalla with flowers, and the gods throw flowers to the cock. Eostra opens the east gate, and Baldur rides up the This beautiful Dawn rainbow in majesty. myth is quite sufficient to explain why the name of Easter retains such a firm hold on the minds of Teutons and Scandinavians. It could not pass away.

Two or three months elapse, and the festival of the White God is celebrated under the title of "White-sun-tide" feasts; while on Midsummer's day, being the day on which the sun does not set in the North, but is seen at midnight, fires are lighted in Baldur's honour, which are called his "bale fires." This custom is still observed in some parts of England; only, instead of fires to Baldur, they are now said to be in honour of St. John.

It is not our purpose to explain, or to attempt to explain, the inner teachings of this myth. We have adduced the facts of the story to show that all the salient points of our *Christmas* observances are decidedly Pagan. The very roast beef and plum-pudding are remnants of sacrifices to Odin. The ox was slaughtered and offered up to him, parts being partaken of by the priests and people present. The blood of the slaughtered animal was mixed with meal into a sort of cake of a hemispherical form, representing the Cosmos. There were many ingredients, and this cake was our plum-pudding in embryo.

The name of the Ember Weeks is known to be derived from the Anglo-Saxon ymb irrnen, to run round, alluding to the return of certain festivals. We are inclined to the theory that it refers to the mad war-dance of the Odinic warriors round his altar, which was

performed with extreme fury and piety throughout all Scandinavia.

The names of the days of the week are as sturdily Pagan as ever they were. In certain notes in his version of the Frithioff's Saga Tegnèr explains the mythological combats referred to in the Edda as symbolical of two degrees of thoughtnamely, the cosmical and the ethical. In the cosmical degree they represent the contest between winter and summer, night and day, cold and heat; while in the higher sense they point to the struggle in the soul between evil and good, hatred and love, sensuality and wisdom, &c. On this system the myth of the Week would denote the progress of life in man's heart, from the glorious innocence of childhood to the darker day of death; from the beginning of creation to the decline of the gods; or, again, from sun-rise to sunset. Finn Magnussen holds to the cosmical theory, while Mallet inclines to the ethical view.

Doubtless there is truth in both these theories. In all probability one is the exterior sheath of the other system. That such mystic or interior sense is contained in all mythologies may be seen from the veneration paid to the number twelve, which clearly means more than mere number. Let us take the signs of the zodiac, for instance. These correspond in number to the list of months in the year, houses in Valhalla, gods in Olympus, Redschis in Brahmapatam, tribes of Israel, the Apostles, the gates of the New Jerusalem, which were twelve pearls, &c. The number twelve is sacred in all Aryan and Semitic teachings, and seems to point out what is complete or full. In the same way seven is very sacred in all systems. The days of the week correspond in number to the "ages of man," or seven stages in the advance towards perfection. Shakespeare's Seven Ages are in wonderful harmony with portions of the view which we have been led to take of the myth of the Week. The result of careful comparison of the arguments of Tegnèr, Finn Magnussen, Geijer, and other writers on Odinic mythology, has been to reduce this subject within the following limits :-

Sunday is the day devoted to the goddess of the Sun, Frigga, the genetrix of nature, aptly congruous with the idea of the birth of man, in innocence, to life and light. In all Teutonic nations the sun is feminine as being the nutrix and life-giver of all things. The sun is also representative of glory attending the warrior through life, and rising again after his death, causing him to beam on through eternity. Such is the bright beginning of human life.

The Moon, in all Teutonic languages, is a male deity, a warrior subject to many changes indicative of the phase passed through in youth. He is bright and beaming, but somewhat melancholy withal. His influence on the tide shows that a true warrior should subdue the elements, especially water. Therefore he leads youth to clear streams to practise swimming, to the sea to launch his bark, and in many ways prepares him to become introduced to the Warrior-god, Tyr or Tys. This novitiate period is therefore called Monday, as being under the super-

intendence of the Moon-god.

Tuesday, the day of Tyr, Tys, or Tuis (called by Tacitus Tusisco), softened, or rather changed, in modern German into Tiensdag, or Dienstag, is, in Scandinavian, Tystag, and in English, Tuesday. state of adolescence is now past, and the "battle of life" begins. The young soldier is entrusted with sword, shield, and spear; he goes forth to war, he is a man-a Heer-man (mispronounced by the Romans and Russians Ger-man), or man of war, one of the Heer, or host. His privilege is to accompany some chief, or Jarl, on a daring enterprise on land, or to follow the fortunes of a Viking "over the ocean." At this period the warrior does not assume the eagle's wings in his helm-hat; and, unless it were an heirloom in his family, he had no right to give a special name to his sword, though, if it were, the name would of necessity come down to him with the weapon.

Wednesday represents the state of mature, full manhood, with dauntless courage combined with wisdom, such as is predicated of Odin, the King of gods, the chooser of the brave and wise. This all-wise, all-powerful deity is the culminating point of the mythological teachings and the centre of the Valhalla group. Once in his varied ex-

perience he escaped from the hold of a giantess in the guise of an eagle. Therefore he wore eagle wings in his helmet, and his chiefs wore them as their distinguishing badge. The soaring aloft by the aid of the wings of the eagle is a highly poetic symbol, showing how wisdom should soar above the thraldom of the low and sensual, typified by the Giants in general who were called Eoten, or Joten (the eaters), in allusion to the sensual, low condition which they represented, and which was always in combat with the higher, nobler, purer Aesir. Under these circumstances, the centre day of the week would very naturally be his by every sort of right. And, strange as it may seem, one Wednesday, or Odin's day, specially devoted to him, under the name of Ash Wednesday, has, under the same designation, been regarded as ultra-Christian. It is one of those festivals which had become too much identified with life to be yielded up at the command of the new priesthood, and, being specially typical, deserves special The ash plays a very important notice. part in Scandinavian mythology. As a tree it is Odin's, most emphatically; its wood is the most noble of wood, as being the material for the shaft of the spear and javelin, for the oar and mast. But beyond these more material values, the ash has a mystic sense which renders it at once the most important among trees. The name ash means (as do those of many other trees) man, for when the sons of Bör, who were sons of Odin, fashioned the first man and the first woman, they made them from a piece of the ash. Hence the first man was called Aska (ash) and his wife Embla. Further than this, the ash represents the Cosmos on a large scale, and man from a less general point of view. The Mundane Tree, or Cosmos, is called Vggdrasil; its roots form the lower regions, and stretch to nine worlds. Here, too, is Hela's dominion, whence our word "hell" as a name for the lower regions. Earth is an extended circular plane, through the centre of which the trunk of the ash passes at right angles with its diameter; the boughs of the tree support the earth, just half-way up the trunk, for which reason the abode of men has received the name of Middle-yard, or garden (Mid-gàrd). Around the earth is ocean, with its streams

Ellivâgr, and in this ocean the Mid-gàrd serpent, one of the monstrous progeny of Loki, is confined with its tail in its mouth, forming a ring. It shall remain until the last day, when the heavens and earth shall pass away, and new gods reign in Valhalla.

Because the middle day of the week was denoted by the name of Odin, and the middle of the week had been devoted to Mercury by the Greeks and Romans, it was concluded by them that Odin must be Mercury! The phase of proud manhood now passes into middle-age, warlike, un-broken, fierce in its conflicts with sensual and worldly delights, but brought nearer to them in its actual strife and symbolized by Thursday, a corruption of Thunners dæg, German Donnerstag-a day devoted to Thor, the Jupiter Tonans of the North, and thus corresponding to the dies Fovis of Roman myth. The Scandinavians retain his name in their nomenclature, which is Thor's day, the day of Thor, while we have retained only his chief attribute of thunder in the name of our day. It has a grim signification, indicative as it is of storm and strife. descends to the Giants and meets them on their own ground. And here it would seem as if in all mythology there were a sort of prophetic perception of what had to be completed in a holier, higher form in the mighty works which Christianity has taught us to contemplate. Let us not be accused of irreverence when we fancy that there are such traces of prophetic truth in these wild poetic teachings! But when Odin, in a wondrous weird song, tells his worshippers that he hung from a cursed tree three times three days, and saw the bitter evil of man! when the God-principle (under another name) descends into Jotunheim to combat the Giants, we are rather awe-struck at the evident harmony in some parts of what we know to be true and what we have long ago rejected as false.

We now come to Friday—the day of Freiya, the goddess of Love in the Northern scheme; but, far from resembling the Venus of the South, she presides over legitimate nuptials. The Scandinavian warrior was not allowed to enter the married state until he had served his country in arms, had earned his right to the eagle's wings at least; so that he never married before thirty at the youngest.

Any illicit connection with the other sex was punished with cruel severity; and to this cause the Romans attributed the superior strength, height, and agility of their Northern enemies. The idea of the peace of family life being a reward for the dangers and conflicts of the Odin and Thor periods is charming, and evidently lies at the bottom of much of what we read in the later Middle High German tales of the Minnesängers, or Bards of Love. On the other hand, there is a reverse to the picture, presented by, I think, Afzelius, which is, that part of Freiya's time is passed in weeping for the woes to come, and man, having subdued the giants of his sensual nature, in entering the rose-coloured domain of Love, prepares his own decay and fall. Therefore, Friday should be a day of tears and fasting, as preparatory to the last, the day of terror, death, and doom-the day of Surtur, who will arise from Muspelheim, and cause the Twilight of the gods.

Saturday was viewed, in a vague manner, within comparatively recent times in Scandinavia, as an unlucky day. It is not the day of Saturn, nor could it be so to people who had had no intercourse with Greece from whence to derive a Hellenic myth. Sharon Turner derives the name from the god Sætter, whom he identifies with Crodus in a very able manner. According to his theory, the day means a quasi-Sabbath, or day for settling down. The name, Sætter's day, seems a corruption from Surtur's day, or the day on which Surtur comes from Muspelheim. The gods engage the monsters; the end of all things is at hand; the old heaven and old earth pass away, and a new Sunday is looked forward to, which the seer tells us "shall not pass away."

The connection of the end of the world with the end of the week, upon the system here laid down, is patent; and certainly, if the myths were so understood by all the Odinic priesthood, there is no cause for wonder at the tenacity of life in the names handed down to us. The Mundane Tree is most remarkable, as showing us the relative positions of gods and mortals; while the flat surface of the Midgard (the Middangard of the Anglo-Saxon writers) shows that the knowledge of geography possessed by the Scandinavians was very similar to that

possessed by the Greeks, who placed their Mount Olympus in the centre of a disc, at the circumference of which were the rocks The Scandinavians, as before and ocean. remarked, held the ash tree sacred, and this was the support of their Cosmos. At the foot were nine serpents, who perpetually gnawed at the nine roots, which were as perpetually refreshed from the pure waters of nine streams-emblematical of sensuality (the serpents) destroying man (the tree), who is regenerated by pure truth (the water of the streams). At the top of this tree is the mountain Valhalla, with the twelve halls of the twelve gods, and the plain Idavöllr, where the champions combat. The bridge Bifröst, known to mortals as the rainbow, leads from Valhalla to earth. On the summit of Valhalla is Odin's throne. No priestcraft, or in fact any other power, could change our names for the days of the week, which were retained in spite of all the efforts of Saxon, Norman, and Puritan to get rid of them. On the fourth day of the week the grand doctrine of the ash tree (Yggdrasil) was, once a year, solemnly expounded to the "sons of Odin," who looked forward to Ash-Wednesday as eagerly as the modern Germans do to Easter:

In support of this theory of the Myth of the Week being the outcome of Eddaic theology, we beg to call attention to the order in which the creation is mentioned in

the Völuspå:-

r. The first activity recorded is, "The sun shone round the south, and the earth

produced tender green things."

2. Then the moon threw his right arm round the sun, and controlled the steeds of heaven.

3. Then follows the creation of the dwarfs,

the elves, and man.

4. Oflin's ash is created; and the three Nornas, or Parcæ, Urda (past), Verdandi (now being), and Skuld (that which shall be), arose. The "Love-of-Gold" arises, and Odin's work begins with war against her. This was the first war.

5. The story of the death of Baldur, and the commencement of war with the Giants.

6. Frigga (not Freiya) weeps, and a beautiful, but intensely mythical, description of future woes is given.

7. The advent of Surtur from the south in consuming flame, the destruction of the present heaven and earth, and prophecy of a new state of things.

The above is a very rough abstract of the Völuspå, as given in Sæmund's Edda, the edition used being Grundtvig's, published in Copenhagen (1874). The best English translation will be found in Sharon Turner's History of the Anglo-Saxons. It is curious that in this poem Thor is not mentioned by name, though the circumstances producing his wars with the Giants are given. He is mentioned in the Edda attributed to Snorri Sturlson as the directing genius, for the gods, of these wars.

It is a remarkable fact, which we do not remember to have seen elsewhere very specially pointed out, that the conversion of the English was, in all respects, different from the conversion of any other Pagan race. They were the first proselytes of Rome who had not been previously subjugated by the Roman sword, and then made to adopt the creed of the conqueror as a consequence of subjugation. The Goths and other Teutonic tribes had humbled Rome. St. Augustine came here like a true missionary, and was not backed by armed legions to compel The English held public meetings on the subject, and many highly characteristic anecdotes are told of their debates. They were not in a hurry: and when baptized and thoroughly initiated into the new faith, they always appear more ready to fight for their opinions than to follow the simple and peaceful rule held out to them. The fact is, that the good fathers were obliged to temporize with these unruly but hard-headed thinkers, and therefore they yielded many points of external observance. Retaining Pagan festivals, but disguising them, as it were, under Christianized appellations, they contrived not to offend the haughty warriors, who, from pride of race, would never have allowed the institutions of their forefathers to be abolished. On the other hand, the mythical and mystical notions wrapped up in the Eddaic teachings had prepared the way for a still higher form of abstract thought; and it would appear that the doctrines of the Incarnation and of victory over the hells were special favourites with the warlike

Anglo-Saxon. Again, he was moral in his life; he venerated the sex to which his mother had belonged, and regarded the priestess of the old creed with simple and very honest awe. This system, widely differing from the loose and vicious ideas held by most of the Romance nations on this delicate point, prepared him to receive with favour the pure and holy teachings of the Christian Church; and the fathers, by becoming acquainted with the Pagan Saxon's creed, adroitly managed to point out those portions of it which seemed prophetical of Christianity. Hence, the desire of retaining much that we have retained and do retain now.

As the Anglo-Saxons became more and more imbued with the Christian doctrines, they gradually abandoned their Pagan nomenclature. Elves give place to angels and good spirits: dark elves and dwarfs change into devils and fiends, as do all the dramatis personæ of the supernatural drama that had been enacting in the woods, streams, and air around our ancestors. The heroes vanish, to be succeeded by saints, differing only in name from their predecessors-for St. Swithin, St. Guthlâc, and St. Dunstan are as stalworth War-men as Hyglac, Beowulf, or Æschere; and the combats of these Christian Hjeldr, as exemplified by the battles of St. Guthlâc with the devils at Croyland, or of St. Dunstan with the archfiend himself, differ in no essential point from those of Beowulf or other heroes with the Nickers and the Grendel.

Thus the new Faith did not utterly crush and stamp out the old, on account of the peculiar retentiveness of the English mind, and the difficulty in erasing from it impressions once deeply set. We propose to give an example of the manner in which the old Faith pervades the new in an instance where we are least prepared to expect it to appear.

The grand epic of Beowulf had been brought in its Pagan state from Scandinavia, and had retained its heathen character in Britain until after the Christianization of England, when it received various touches from Christian scribes to bring it into harmony with the teachings of the Church. This took place, in all probability, on account of its extreme popularity, for of other Pagan epics only fragments have been found, and others again are only known to us from quotations

from, or references to, them in later works. The parchment on which these heathen English poems were written was either cleaned with pumice for the reception of saintly legends, or was cut up to bind other MSS.; hence between the heroic epic of Beowulf and the miraculous Christian epic known as Cædmon's Song we have nothing entire. But these two poems are in themselves sufficient to render us proud of the English name.

Cædmon's Lay is an account of the Creation, and the principal events in the Old Testament down to Belshazzar's Feast and the Destruction of Babylon. This occupies the first part of the poem, while the second gives an account of the Rebellion of the Hells, the Descent of the Saviour, and the Redemption. The mode of treating the subject is perfectly Scandinavian; the battle scenes are painted with great force and vigour, and with the same relish for the fray that animates the Scaldic verse of the olden The ring of battle sounds in the clanging lines just as in Beowulf; and the Prince of Darkness puts on his "grim helm" with all the air of a son of Odin. The speeches of the archfiend are as like the harangues of the heathen warriors "as two peas," and where epithets are not readily found in the Sacred Writings to express the feeling of the poet, they are freely borrowed from the Edda! Hence the military parade in Heaven, the yawning gulph or gynning-a gap by which chaos is rendered in the Edda and in Cædmon, with many other particulars. The poet is a Christian, but he had been familiar with heathen thought and poetry, which underlie the whole. Lucifer is the Utgàrd Loki of the old system; he is even called by the same names-"Godes and saka," the denier of God (here, however, God is singular, not plural), and "Feonda aldor" the "Prince of Fiends." The site of man's sin is the Mid-gard, or Middan-yeord-i.c., middle earth. Hell is the name of the place below, instead of the impersonation of the lower world; but the most Scandinavian touch of all is the tender and loving manner in which the poet treats Eve. That "crown of women," that "fairest of all that is fair," that "light of the Welkin" (leoht under wolken), "that bright form," "the tender one," &c.

The MS. of Cædmon was first given to the world in 1655 at Amsterdam, where Milton resided some time before he became blind, and it has been shown that he, in all probability, was greatly indebted to this edition and translation into Latin of the poem. His military heaven is perhaps more Scandinavian than that of Cædmon, and his Deity more Odinic, but the similarity of the mode of treating the subject is too striking to escape notice; and, however it came, the influence of the Saxon poem is as plainly to be traced in the work of our own stern Puritan, as that of the old Scaldic Sagaman is seen in the Biblical story of Cædmon. teaches us that, where Milton departs from the story of the Bible, he is under the influence of Scandinavian Paganism, although, in principle, the most bitter foe to Paganism of every form,-even to the "disparaging of mince pies and plum porridge." His reading was essentially classical, and he very likely read the Latin translation of our Cædmon, rather than either the original or the Dutch version

As Milton's Paradise Lost and Paradise Regained are in the hands of all students of English theology, they have, rather than his prose works, done much to give a tone to English religious feeling, and these poems are full, at second-hand it is true, of Scandinavian myth, much in the same way as the festivals ordained by the Church are derived from the same source!

DXOMATAKOXI

Barley, Earl of Orford, 1714.



HERE has always been much of mystery in the character of Harley, and in the story of his life. He entered Parliament as a Whig, re-

turned for the Cornish borough of Tregony; he came to the front as leader of the moderate Tories in Marlborough's Coalition Ministry; dismissed from office, along with Bolingbroke, most unwillingly by Anne; her consent being with difficulty extorted from her, he was almost immediately replaced as the head of a new Tory Ministry. The succession was then the real question of the day; a question which, with the failing

of the Queen's health, turned all politics into faction and intrigue. Harley undoubtedly kept up a correspondence with the Pretender; a delusive correspondence, according to historians, on the one side, who contend that he never thought of any other as successor than the Elector of Hanover. Bolingbroke, succeeding in getting him dismissed, became Premier July 27, 1714, and the Queen died on August 1. George I. was proclaimed; Bolingbroke fled to France; Oxford was sent to the Tower, and after two years' imprisonment, brought to trial, and in the end acquitted, or rather released; for the two Houses quarrelling as to the mode of proceeding, the Commons took no part in it. In the new House the Whig interest predo-Harley remained in retirement, minated. the friend of men of letters, and himself the founder of a collection of books and manuscripts which yet perpetuates his name.

Sir George Cornewall Lewis, besides the credibility of Roman history, and the like higher matters, interested himself in the pedigree of his Radnorshire family, abandoning, indeed, all the generations prior to the introduction of surnames in Wales, and beginning with about 1350, in the reign of Edward III. By the name of "Pedigree of the Family of Lewis of Harpton," he privately printed his brochure thereon; and it is by permission of the present head of the house, Sir Gilbert Frankland Lewis, that we here print from it two letters, still preserved at Harpton, which Sir Cornewall had chosen out, and added to the "Pedigree." The selection of these by him puts a value on them, besides that they are evidence of the state of political and private feeling at the time of the Harley impeachment. The Harleys, Radnorshire people like themselves, were on intimate terms with the Harpton family. Early in 1714, the Earl of Oxford, then Lord Treasurer, sent his cousin, Mr. Harley, on a mission to the Court of Hanover with warm expressions of duty and attachment. Electress Sophia was living when he was there, but died in May; the death-blow given, as it was said, by Queen Anne's refusal to receive her or any of her family. Thomas Lewis, then twenty-four years old, accompanied Mr. Harley as a member of his mission, and on Mr. Harley's return the

Earl of Clarendon and Lord Paget were appointed ambassadors to Hanover. The following letter, written to Mr. Thomas Lewis at London by his father, is one of those chosen out by Sir Cornewall and appended to the "Pedigree":-

14th February, 1713-(14.)
DEAR SON,—In answer to your former letter, I enclosed one last post to Mr. Harley, in which I would have omitted some things, had I known the progress you had made in that affair. I presume they did not think my consent would be so easily had, considering the expense and short warning; but that I would have chosen a small post for present advantage, to take the burthen of your education off my hands, than trust to those uncertainties. But this I have complied with, to let you find my readiness to promote your welfare to the utmost of my power, hoping I shall have no occasion ever to repent it. The only way you have to furnish yourself with money is by parting with what I have in the South Sea, and pay ing £30 to the gentlewoman, and returning me the rest that is spare. You must, if you go, advise with them where and upon whom to take bills of exchange upon the least discount, for to carry ready money all will not, I think, be proper; and be advised of all other matters that you are a stranger to, that you may not be disappointed, or be troublesome to Mr. Harley in any improper thing. Be sure to take care of your conduct in words and actions, and get acquainted with some prudent, knowing person of the retinue, whose conversation and advice may be useful. Keep a diary of all you see or do or hear, whilst you are abroad, and get as much of the languages as is possible. Take some maps and geographical books of the countries you pass through, and also of the laws, customs, government, and the product or manufactory of each particular place; and spend not an idle hour without getting some useful information or knowledge of useful things; that when you return, they may find you have spent your time well, and that you are of an industrious temper, and fit for business. Send your letters in Mr. Harley's packet, and write only your private business, and do not meddle with public matters, but only by observation. Carry yourself respectfully to Mr. Harley, and always speak honourably of him. Your conduct and behaviour is now to be tried, and may ruin or make you. I cannot tell you now half my mind, but leave you to God's direction and good providence. Let me hear every post before you go. Take leave of my Lord Treasurer, and thank him for all favours. Wish him all imaginable prosperity, and the like to the Auditor, to whom I will write a letter of thanks, if you think fit. We are all well, and under some concern at this sudden expedition, and give you our blessing and love.

I am your loving father, THOS. LEWIS.

My service to cousin Weaver, to whom I have written this post.

P.S.—Let me hear particularly what ease you will have in your expenses by going now, and whether they offer any advantages; for I suppose you cross the VOL. VI.

sea in the Queen's yacht, and provision is there made aboard at the Queen's charge; and that after he will keep a table, and treat the gentlemen on the same account; so that your pocket money and clothes may account; so that your pocket money and clothes may be all that is wanting; and, therefore, do not press too hard upon one that is so free; yet take what is sufficient. If you have time, take some physic, to avoid being sea-sick; your constitution will not bear what others may. Serve God, and put thy trust in Him, and He will bless you. Avoid dispute, that occasions quarrel among strangers.

Queen Anne died in August, 1714, two months after the Electress; and in January, 1715, Parliament was dissolved by proclamation. Mr. Thomas Lewis was returned for the Radnor Boroughs as a Whig, and in opposition to the Harley interest he contested the boroughs with Lord Harley, and was duly Lord Harley petitioned against returned. the return, but the petition, which alleged the "making of some hundreds of illegal bur gesses," was not prosecuted. There is a tradition that he was influenced by some slight received from Mr. Harley during his mission. His family, however, heard that he was about to act with the party who were promoting the impeachment of Lord Oxford, carried in the House of Commons on June 9, 1715, without a division. The following letter to Mr. Thomas Lewis from his mother, has also been added by Sir Cornewall to the family pedigree; "the duke" mentioned in it is the Duke of Ormond :-

(No date.) DEAR SON,—You cannot imagine the concern I am under. I can't eat, drink, or sleep, for fear you have a hand in [the] blood of these men. My Lord of Oxon is our neighbour and friend; be tender of his life and do not for our production; it is not started in the content of the c life, and do not, for any advantage in this world, give your vote against him or the Duke; and give me the satisfaction that you are not ungrateful to him, which

will very much quiet the mind of your uneasy mother. Send me down as much black silk as will make a petticoat, and I will pay you for it. Hasten your brother down. We are all well, and remember you, and long for an answer to this, which is all from Your loving mother,
M. LEWIS.

For fifty-three years, continuously, this Thomas Lewis represented the Radnor Boroughs, and was called "The Old Burgess." He opposed the Harley family, then powerful in the county, and was a supporter of Sir Robert Walpole, our first Peace Minister, be it remembered, whose saying it was, that "nothing is more pernicious than war for the country while it lasts, and when it is ended, by the cost of it."

At the age of eighty-seven, Thomas Lewis died at his house in Soho Square, and was buried "in great funeral pomp" April 5, 1777, in Old Radnor Church, where is a vast monument, with an also vast inscription of equally great funeral pomp, and a medallion, in high relief, from the full-length portrait at Harpton Court.

B. L. L.

Reviews:

Chronograms, 5,000 and more in number, excerpted out of various Authors and collected at many Places. By JAMES HILTON. (London: 1882. Elliot Stock). 4to, pp. xx. 569.

This is certainly a most remarkable book, and, we may add, a most valuable one. Mr. Hilton taking note that no work exists on the subject, says the present book is put forth to fill a void in this field of literature; and when we consider that chronograms, composed of words which convey a pertinent allusion to the event which they commemorate, give us dateparticulars of an enormous range of events in the world's history, we must admit that the handsome volume before us has a right to a place among our reference books.

A chronogram is thus composed:—An inscription containing words, the letters of which represent in the Roman notation the date of the event or object to which the chronograms refer. They occur on buildings and monuments, and on medals "struck to commemorate the birth, coronation, career, or death of princes and potentates; battles, sieges, and wars, which their subjects have fought and endured for them, as well as the treaties made and alliances formed on the establishment of peace; social and local events, the founding of universities, and the like."

It will be seen that, as a handmaid to history, the subject of chronograms is an important one. To place an example before our readers, taken from one of the most interesting chapters of the book. "A collection of elegiac poems in the British Museum, addressed to various people, bears the following title:—Bartolomaei Bilovii curarum Libri v. Elbingae, anno LiberatoriS fiDeLIVM." Here the sum of the large letters gives the date of the work 1609. It may be mentioned that there are very few chronograms in English—a deficiency that Mr. Hilton has himself very ably managed to lessen by the construction of many very good examples, and this feature of the work is by no means the least interesting.

Our readers will judge from the above example how very frequently a chronogram will give important information when, apparently, there is no other evidence of date. Mr. Hilton gives some interesting examples of this. As specimens of patience and ingenuity there is nothing to equal chronograms throughout the range of literature, except perhaps the laborious skill which Mr. Hilton has devoted to his work as their historian. What this must have cost him is known, and can be known, only to himself. There is nothing

left undone to make the work well worthy of its object, and the eareful and valuable index thoroughly completes a volume which will always be reckoned among the choicest of our curiosities of literature, as well as a ready handbook to the dates of many out-of-the-way though curious matters.

The Transit Instrument as applied to the Determination of Time. By LATIMER CLARK. (London: Published by the Author, 1882.)- 8vo.

It will not, perhaps, be easy to find an excuse for noticing this little treatise in the ANTIQUARY, unless it be held excuse sufficient that its author and publisher have been good enough to send it us for review. It may be that, as Mr. Clark intends his instructions for the unlearned, he may have considered a publication which makes no special pretension to astronomical knowledge, to be a desirable tribunal for his book to be brought before. We at all events acquit him of any notion of presuming on our ignorance, and thereby extorting an opinion unduly favourable. Not but what it might be possible to find matter of antiquarian interest even in a subject so unpromising. The instrument was invented in 1675 (not seventy years later than the invention of the telescope itself), by the Danish astronomer, Roemer, though he was not able to set one up till thirty years later. first instrument did not long survive its inventor, for it was consumed in the great fire at Copenhagen in 1728; Roemer himself having died in 1710. With his instruments, too, were burnt the records of the observations which Roemer had made, only sufficient being saved to show, as Mr. Grant tells us in his *Physical Astronomy*, that they were hardly inferior to those of recent date. Having thus shown our familiarity with our own side of the question, we will seek no further excuse. We will even admit that it is quite unjustifiable for us to drag in these references to the ancient history of astronomy, by way of apologizing, for what in truth needs no apology, the introduction to our readers of a very convenient and useful little book. Not being-as above stated-expected to assume astronomical knowledge, we may admit that we were much surprised at the simplicity and apparent ease with which the observation of a transit can be made with sufficient accuracy to give the unskilled observer true time within a fraction of a second. Mr. Clark gives instructions which, he says, will enable anybody to do this, and the object of his book is to induce dwellers in the country to employ the transit instrument as a means of setting their clocks and watches. There is no doubt that any one who will try the experiment may become a blessing to his village, by bringing about an approach to uniformity in what we may term reputed local time.

Proceedings of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club. Session 1881.

It is not too much to say that this is one of the most industrious as it is one of the most valuable of the local field clubs in the country. The amount of good such societies do in the cause of archæological research is not easily to be estimated, and should not be lost sight of by those who take an abiding interest in the antiquities of our land. Mr. Hardy has drawn up in the present volume a careful and graphic account of the rambles of the club, and many and often are the times we have to pause to gratify our temptation to wander in thought away from the library where we read to the fields and places where Nature speaks for itself. Besides this report there are some extremely interesting papers on antiquities, one or two points from which we must notice. A paper on the discovery of horses' heads by Dr. E. C. Robertson is particularly valuable. At the installation of kings in the east a sacrifice of a horse was made. Wheelboy relates that "a horse of a particular colour was let loose for a year to wander at its will; at the end of the year it was brought back triumphantly to his own city, when the animal was sacrificed, and there was a grand feast, at which the roasted flesh of the horse would be eaten as an imperial dish." Tacitus asserts a similar practice among the Germans. The horse is represented on many British coins, and we think it worth while



reproducing the woodcuts illustrating three of these. On the first there is the horse, the head drawn down to resemble a bird's bill. On the second there is depicted the horse with wings. On the third the horse has a human face. Dr. Robertson adduces these and many more interesting facts to show that the cult of the horse was extensively known in these islands, and the extraordinary find of three horses' heads in a small chamber in the spire of St. Cuthbert's Church, Elsdon, immediately over the bell, Dr. Robertson rightly concludes belongs to the same class of thought. Another paper on Elsdon Mote Hills, by Mr. Thomas Arkle, attracts particular attention, as it adds another example to a very important subject relative to the primitive life of our ancestors, and it is given additional value from the ground-plan illustration which accompanies the article. Other papers of note are, "On a Polygonal Grinding Stone found in Lamberton Moor," and "A Sculptured Stone at Innerleithen," both illustrated.

The Customs, Superstitions, and Legends of the County of Stafford. By CHARLES HENRY POOLE. (London: Rowney & Co.) 8vo, pp. 124.

This little pamphlet does not bear out its somewhat pretentious title. It is simply a collection from literary sources of some of the folk-lore of the county, and though we by no means wish to discourage such eminently useful work, we think it should stand upon its own merits. Mr. Poole's book will be useful to collectors of folk-lore, though scarcely so to the scientific student.

The Life and Correspondence of the late Samuel HibbertWare, M.D., F.R.S.E., &c., Secretary and Vice-President of the Society of Scottish Antiquaries, Author of the "History of the Foundations of Manchester," "The Philosophy of Apparitions," &c. By Mrs. HIBBERT-WARE. (Manchester: J. E. Cornish. 1882.) 8vo, pp. xxiv. 586.

We have here a striking instance of how much fame a man may lose by changing his name. Dr. Hibbert-Ware was well known in Manchester, but probably few recognized in the local celebrity the more widely famous Dr. Hibbert who wrote on the theory of apparitions. Henceforth, however, there will be no excuse for this ignorance, for Mrs. Hibbert-Ware has set forth in the handsome volume before us the chief incidents of her father-in-law's life in a lively and instructive narrative that cannot fail to interest all who take it up. Samuel Hibbert was born at Man-chester, on Sunday, April 21, 1782, and his early life was spent in the old city to which he was ever deeply attached, and every nook and corner of which were known to him. He was educated at the Manchester New College, where his progress was highly satisfactory, and he subsequently received a lieu-tenant's commission in the 1st Lancashire Militia. His literary tastes were early excited, and we learn His literary tastes were early excited, and we learn that he offered a play in three acts to the manager of Drury Lane Theatre, entitled, The Romance of the Apennines. In 1813 he made a radical change in his mode of life, and matriculated at the University of Edinburgh. In 1815 he quitted Manchester for Edinburgh, where he remained for many years. Two years after he graduated as a doctor of medicine, but possessing however an independent fortune he did not practise his profession, but devoted himself entirely to science his profession, but devoted himself entirely to science and literature. In 1817 during a visit to Shetland he discovered the existence in those islands of chromate This discovery attracted much attention, of iron. and in 1820 the Society of Arts voted him the Gold Isis Medal, in testimony of their appreciation of its importance. Subsequently he discovered another valuable mineral in Shetland. In 1824 Dr. Hibbert was elected one of the secretaries of the Society of Scottish Antiquaries, and in the same year appeared the book by which he is best known, Sketches of the Philosophy of Apparitions, or an attempt to trace such Illusions to their Physical Causes. Mrs. Hibbert-Ware tells an amusing anecdote of the author. He was travelling in the mail-coach with a lady when their conversation happened to turn on this book. His companion asserted her belief that the author was no better than an infidel; he however so explained parts of the book that she somewhat modified her opinion. When the coach had completed its journey the lady asked his name, and her confusion an astonishment was great when he replied, "Dr. Hib-bert, madam." Although settled in Edinburgh he bert, madam." Although settled in Edinburgh he did not forget his native place, and in 1830 he brought out his important work, History of the Foundations in Manchester of Christ's College, Chetham's Hospital, and the Free Grammar School. We must, however, hurry over the later occurrences of Dr. Hibbert's life. In 1837 he took the name of Ware, which was the family name of his mother. He settled in Manchester, and was in 1843 one of the first council of the Chetham Society, for which association he edited

Memorials of Lancashire of 1715. On the 30th of December he died in the sixty-seventh year of his age. Thus ended the life of a worthy of whose fame

literary men may well be proud.

Mrs. Hibbert-Ware has told her story well, and although the hero always assumes his proper place in her pages, she has managed to illustrate the circum-stances of his life with much valuable illustrative The early chapters on social life, and the cost of living at the end of the eighteenth century, are particularly interesting.

Miscellaneous Writings of John Spreull (commonly called Bass John), with some Papers Relating to his History, 1646-1722. (Glasgow: James Maclehose & Sons. 1882.) Sq. 8vo, pp. xi. 132.

John Spreull's fame is not very wide, but this hand-some reprint of his writings will help to make the man more known. His chief work is an early Political Economy tract, entitled An Accompt Current betwixt Scotland and England Ballanced (1705), in which he not only deals with the interchange between England and Scotland, but also shows what products Scotland possesses to balance the products of other The tract is full of valuable information, and Mr. J. W. Burns, the editor, and the representative of John Spreull, says that he found in A New General Atlas, published at London in 1721, most of the information relating to Scotland, taken from this Accompt Current. The next tract is his Representation, in reference to a seat in his parish church in Glasgow, which he appears to have found a difficulty in obtaining. Spreull was born in 1646, and during the reign of our James II., he got into trouble, and was for a time imprisoned on the Bass Rock, from which he took his nickname. A full account of his troubles is reprinted from Woodrow's History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland. This volume is illustrated by a portrait of Spreull, from a painting by Kneller, and several facsimiles of handwritings.

Contested Etymologies in the Dictionary of the Rev. W. W. Skeat. By HENSLIEGH WEDGWOOD. (London: Trübner & Co. 1822.) Small 8vo, pp. viii,-

This is a delightful little book, as all who know Mr. Wedgwood's mode of treating the history of words will naturally expect it to be. There are over two hunnaturally expect it to be. dred words whose etymology, as set forth by Mr. Skeat, he disputes. There is no preface, and therefore we are left in ignorance whether or not Mr. Wedgwood generally agrees with Mr. Skeat's account of all the other words in the English language. We suspect that this is not the case, because these two distinguished etymologists work upon such different principles. We cannot discuss here the various questions which arise, but must refer our readers to the book itself, which will amply repay careful study. We may, however, just note one entry, which refers to a word in the Merry Wives of Windsor, about which there has been a considerable amount of disputation— Bully-rook. Bully does not originally mean a boisterous fellow, but it evidently is the same word as

billie, explained by Jamieson as a companion, comrade, lover, brother, fellow, young man. The bad sense was apparently acquired from the conduct of boon companions. We wish Mr. Wedgwood had added something explanatory of the rook (or rock).

A' Register of the Scholars Admitted into Merchant Taylors' School, from A.D. 1562 to 1874, compiled from Authentic Sources, and Edited with Biographirom Authentic Sources, and Edited with Bographical Notices. By the Rev. CHARLES J. Robinson, M.A., Rector of West Hackney. Vol. I. Printed and published for the Editor by Farncombe & Co., Lewes. 1882. Royal 8vo, pp. xvi. 390.

Last month we noticed Professor Mayor's important Register of the Admissions of St. John's College, Cambridge, and now we are called upon to review a Register of one of our most famous public schools. This is well, and we hope many more such books will follow. How valuable lists of names of this character are to the historian, the biographer and the genealogist we need not tell the readers of the ANTIQUARY. Mr. Robinson, although he modestly contents himself with the title of editor, is justly entitled to that of compiler, for he has not had one continued register before him which needed only to be copied and annotated. He has had to consult the minute books of the Court of the Merchant Taylor's Company, and a MS. list of the Fellows of St. John's, Oxford, for records of the school before the year 1607. The records of the school before the year 1607. Register opens with the famous name of Edmund Spencer, and seventh on the list is Lancelot Andrews, afterwards the saintly Bishop of Winchester. One very valuable feature of these lists is the information given as to the social position of the fathers of the boys, which shows the greater mixture of classes in the early years than at present. By the Statutes the number of boys to be taught in the school was fixed at 250, of which number 100 were to be children of poor parents, unable to pay for education, 50 of a little higher grade, and the remaining 100 the children of rich or meane (i.e., middle-class) men. Sometimes there were less and sometimes more, according to the ability of the head master. As we turn over the pages we notice that the entries between 1644 and 1661 are much fuller than those in earlier and later years, and we find that these are taken from the Register which is now preserved in Sion College, kept by William Dugard, who was head master during that period. Not contented with stating that a boy is the son of —, he further states whether he was only eldest or second son, and so on. Also he gives the date of birth and usually the place of birth. Evidently Mr. Dugard was a born genealogist. The list of head masters contains the names of many distinguished men, and Richard Mulcaster, who was one of the earliest of spelling reformers, heads it. Mr. Robinson has annotated the Register, and given much valuable information respecting some of the boys, but, naturally, of the larger number little or nothing can be said. This volume comes down to 1699, and a second volume will complete the register. A full index to all the names given in this volume is added at the end.

THOMESTINON

Meetings of Antiquarian Societies.

METROPOLITAN.

Archæological Institute.—November 2.—Lord Talbot de Malahide, President, in the chair.—The Rev. H. Whitehead sent a Paper on an ancient paten from Hamsterley, Durham, which was exhibited. Mr. R. S. Ferguson sent a Paper on a parchment pedigree of Raby Coat, Cumberland, which also was exhibited. Mr. W. M. Flinders Petrie read a Paper, the first of a series, on the Domestic Remains of Ancient Egypt. The Bishop Suffragan of Nottingham, sent some notes on the discovery of three tree coffins in Grimsby Churchyard, which he thought were probably either of the Saxon or Danish period. Precentor Venables laid before the meeting a sketch of a Roman sepulchral inscribed stone recently found in Hungate, Lincoln, with notes upon it by himself and the Rev. J. Wordsworth. Mr. Stuart Knill exhibited a drawing of excavations in Leadenhall Street, showing considerable remains of a Roman pavement lately discovered. Mr. J. H. Middleton exhibited a drawing of a chalice at Little Faringdon, circa 1470. Among other objects exhibited were a bronze mortar, lately found at Colchester with Roman remains, by Mr. E. Peacock; a British urn of great size, fragments of two others, and a quantity of bones, discovered a short time ago at Acton, by Mr. Hedges; a beautiful knife handle, decorated with nielli of Italian character, found in the moat at Kirkstead, Lincolnshire, by Mrs. Cartwright; five old swords by Mr. H. Hems; drawings of the font at St. Peter's, Ipswich, by Miss M. Burton; and a drawing of the west end of Ashford Carbonell Church, Salop, showing an arrangement of a very unusual kind, by the Rev. J. S. Tanner. Edinburgh Architectural Association. —

Edinburgh Architectural Association.—
November 10.—Mr. D. M'Gibbon, President, in the chair.—In his opening address, the President reviewed the past history of the Association. After referring to the publication of the Sketch Book as a matter deserving continued encouragement, the President gave a vidimus of the work cut out for the Association during the ensuing winter, and then proceeded to explain that arrangements had been commenced for the holding of an architectural exhibition, to include paintings, drawings, sketches, photographs, detailed drawings, and every kind of pictorial representation of their art

PROVINCIAL.

Berwickshire Naturalists' Club.—Selkirk Meeting.—October 11.—Various valuable objects connected with the town of Selkirk were exhibited at this meeting; its charters, three in number; its silver cup and famous bunch of bristles essential to the bestowal of citizenship; the weavers' Flodden flag, carrying the emblem of the shuttle; the Andrea Ferrara of the valiant town clerk wielded at the same fatal fight; the "Souters'" halbert; their oldest book of records; a fine pair of red-deer antlers; and a cranium of the ancient wild ox (Bos primigenus),

sent from Haining, but originally obtained in Linton Marl bog, in Roxburghshire; a "Breeches" Bible in excellent preservation, believed, from some internal tokens, to have been Archbishop Sharpe's; a Prayer-Book that had been the property of Mr. Alexander Anderson, Mungo Park's brother-in-law, who died during Park's last disastrous journey, before the final collapse. This little book had been found in Park's boat after he was drowned, and was afterwards worn by the chief of Youri as an amulet of powerful efficacy, from having belonged to the "good white man." It was recovered and brought home by one of the Landers, and is now in Dr. Anderson's possession, who has also a few letters in the handwriting of the traveller. Mr. T. Craig Brown, Selkirk, read a Paper on the "Souters of Selkirk." He suggested the probability of the trade being a survival from the time before the death of Alexander III., when all the skins from Ettrick Forest were brought to Selkirk to be tanned by the king's tanner.

tanned by the king's tanner.

Manchester Scientific Students.—October 25.

Mr. F. A. Whaite in the chair.—Mr. George C. Yates read a Paper "On Gourds and Calabashes, and their uses to Man." Mr. Yates described the calabash tree. The most useful part is the hard shell of the fruit, which, under the name of Calabash, is much used in place of hats, saucers, cups, drums, bottles and goblets, and is often used to boil liquids. These articles often constitute the sole article of furniture of the Carib Indians. The pulp of the fruit is considered in the country a sovereign remedy for several disorders, both internal and external. Mr. Yates next spoke of gourds, the rinds of which are largely used for holding liquids, and they also go by the name of calabash. The vegetable marrow appears to be a mere variety of the common gourd or pumpkin. It was introduced into Europe from Persia about the beginning of the nineteenth century, but is now more generally cultivated in Britain than any other kind of gourd. Mr. Yates concluded his Paper with an account of the uses to which calabashes are put by savage tribes. Mr. W. E. A. Axon communicated a Paper on "Beddgelert."

Inverness Field Club.—October 14.—Mr. Ross gave an account of the house at Redcastle, which he believes to be theoldest inhabited building in the North. The ancient name of this castle was Eddyrdor, and there is evidence to show that it was built by William the Lion about the end of the 12th century. In 1455, the Barony of Edderdail called Ardmannoch, and the Reid Castle, with the lordships of Ross belonging thereto, were annexed to the Crown by James II., and in 1481 (5th April) James III. granted to his second son, James Stewart, Marquis of Ormond, the lands of the lordship of Ardmannache, called Avauch, and Nethirdal, with the moothill of Ormond and the castle and fortalice of Redcastle. Lord Ormond became an ecclesiastic, and his mother, Queen Margaret, leased the lands and house of Ardmannache to George, Earl of Huntly. In 1482, the Earl granted the lands to Hucheone de Ros of Kilravock, the keeping of Redcastle, and the lands of Ardmannachet (in lieu of payment) of the dues of the lands of Urquhart and Glenmorrisone, which he held of the Earl. Before 1492 the lands of Ardmannache and Reidcastle were taken from Hucheone de Ros of Kil-

ravock by Renzo Mackenzie of Kintail, and in the ravock by Renzo Mackenzie of Kintail, and in the same year George, Earl of Huntly, bound himself to restore to the Baron of Kilravock his lease of Reidcastle and Ardmannacht, "in so far as reason and law will," together with the goods he had in the same. It ended, however, in Hucheone de Ros resigning the lease of Ardmannach and Reidcastle, and the King ordered the Sheriff of Ross to distrain the lands and goods of a large number of the adjoining lands. In 1511 King James IV. granted to Henry Stewart the lands of Culcowy, Drumnmarge, and Muren, with the Mill of Redcastel. The estate came into the hands of the Murrays and Stewarts, and finally into the hands of the Mackenzies in 1570, with whom it continued till 1790, when the family got into difficulties; and it was sold to Mr. Grant, of Shewglie. In 1824 it was resold to Sir William Fettes, and finally to the Hon. H. Baillie, its present possessor. The Castle as it now stands has been added to and changed, so that its original form cannot be made out. It appears that the oldest portion is the south front overlooking the Frith, and that it probably constituted the keep or main tower, now a courtyard, enclosed to the north. The east front is not at right angles to the south, but they would seem to have formed two sides of a pentagon, which may have been the form of the great enclosure. This is not an uncommon form in Highland castles. It is, of course, conjectural, but, looking to the conformation of the grounds, it is not unreasonable, judging by the style of building, this south front is the oldest, and the tower and wing extending north from it the next. Of course the domestic modern buildings are easily dis-tinguished. The pediments over the attic windows were taken from "Old Castle Tolmie," which stood at the foot of Bridge Street, Inverness, previous to the flood of 1849. On the removal of Castle Tolmie, the old gablets were purchased and fixed up soon

Plymouth Institution .- The seventy-first season of the Plymouth Institution was opened on the 12th October with an address from the President, Mr. R. N. Worth, F.G.S. He dealt with the border-land between the prehistoric and the definitely historic, and gave a sketch of the conditions of Saxon Devon in the Plymouth district, under the title of "A Corner of Saxon Devon." Prefacing his more local references by an inquiry into the original Devonshire Hundreds of Domesday (all of which he identified and traced), Saxon Devon." and the lessons thence derivable, he pointed out that only two Saxon deeds referred to the vicinity of Plymouth, and that the chronicles were all but silent relating to it. For the first time, however, definite traces of the "wark" had been found in Devon, and in Plymouth itself-a remarkable fact, and one which Mr. Worth had ascertained in the course of a detailed examination of some hundreds of ancient deeds. The chief part of the address consisted of an examination of the local references in Domesday, and an elucidation of their character and value; and this was illustrated by a sketch map of the district in the Norman period, and by some elaborate tables. The changes that had taken place were distinctly marked.

British Archæological Society.—October 31.— A visit was paid to Hampton Court and Kingston. Mr. Ernest Law gave some interesting particulars

concerning the Great Hall. Standing in the Barrack-yard, or "Outer Green Court," as it was formerly called, Mr. Chart pointed out that the Trophy gates, by which they had just entered, were erected by William III. The road ran at a peculiar angle to the palace, leading to the belief that it had not always existed there. On the given hand side of the road existed there. On the right-hand side of the road there used to be some old buildings, which had been gradually demolished during the past fifty or sixty years. The palace was built upon the site of a priory belonging to the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, and a lease was granted by the Knights Hospitallers to Cardinal Wolsey. On arriving at the west front entrance, Mr. Chart explained that this part of the building was restored about one hundred years ago, and it was an interesting fact to mention that the old oak gates which were originally hung at this entrance, oak gates which were originally hing at this entrance, and which had been! lying in one of the workshops for many years, had recently been re-hung, after undergoing thorough repair. They were of massive proportions, being five inches thick, and bore traces of having been penetrated by bullets. They were also riddled with shots. Mr. Chart next proceeded to give some interesting particulars regarding the piers on each side of the gateway, which piers together on each side of the gateway, which piers, together with several others in different parts of the palace, were formerly surmounted with leaden cupolas. Of these leaden cupolas, only two now remained. The groined Tudor ceiling in the first archway was next referred to. Mr. Chart mentioned that it was erected last year in substitution of a lath and plaster ceiling. Mr. Chart next called attention to the busts (eight in number) of Roman emperors on the walls of this part of the palace, and said it had been generally supposed that they were gifts from Pope Leo X. to Cardinal Wolsey, but it had since been discovered that they were purchased. Mr. Lambert remarked that these busts came from Florence. The Great Hall was then entered. It was built, he said, in 1531, by Henry VIII., and not by Wolsey, as was often stated. It was begun immediately after the death of Wolsey, the old hall being first removed to make room for it. Between six and seven years were spent in building it, and in the Record Office there could be seen minute information as to its cost, even to the amount spent in buying candles to enable the men to work at spent in buying candles to enable the men to work at night-time. The hall was probably now about what it was when Henry VIII. finished it, although often restored and touched up since. The ceiling was supposed to be the most elaborate in England, and resembled that in Christ Church, Oxford. After describing some of its more important features, he went on to speak of the old stone fireplace, 6ft. square, which formerly existed in the centre of the hall, just below the lantern. When the fire was lighted the smoke and fumes escaped through the lantern. minstrel gallery was now almost precisely as it used to be, with the exception of the tapestry and carvings on the balustrade, which were restorations. Speaking of the wrought iron gates in the King's guard chamber, the company were informed that they were the work of Huntingdon Shaw, a famous smith of Nottingham, who was buried in Hampton Churchyard. Mr. Lambert mentioned that in 1850 these gates were lying in a rusty state at the bottom of the gardens, but a deputation of archæologists having brought the

matter under the notice of the office of Woods and Forests, the gates were afterwards brought up here and taken care of. On arriving at the Chapel Royal some time was spent in inspecting the royal pew and other parts of this portion of the Palace. Mr. Chart mentioned that the ceiling was of Tudor design, and the carving was by Gibbons. The chapel was originally built by Henry VIII., but it was thoroughly gutted and almost re-built by Wren. One of Wolsey's great kitchens was next visited. It is situate on the north side of the palace, abutting on Tennis-courtlane, Formerly there were four kitchens, but the other three have since heen altered and appropriated other three have since been altered and appropriated for different purposes, the present one being left in its original state. The fireplace is 16ft. across, and contains the spit racks which were used in Wolsey's time. This portion of the palace, as may be readily supposed, was examined with much interest.-The visitors were afterwards driven to Kingston Church, where they were met by the Rev. A. S. W. Young, vicar of Kingston, Mr. Gould, and several other gentlemen. Here a very interesting Paper was read by Mr. Patrick. The church of Kingston, he said, was dedicated to All Saints, and a church existed here at the time of the Conquest. The present building, however, had no pretensions to so great an age. church was a cruciform structure, with north and south aisles and transepts. There were chantry chapels on each side of the chancel—that on the south dedicated to St. James, and that on the north to the Blessed Trinity. The chapel of St. Mary, which was always placed to the south of the chancel, stood still further south, and was probably part of the original church founded by Gilbert Normain. This chapel partly fell down in the year 1730, through having been undermined by the carton in digning maying the goaten being this the sexton in digging graves, the sexton being killed by its fall; but its total destruction was very soon completed by the parish. The church is one of the largest in the county, and the dimensions were 149ft. 4in, in length, by 82ft. 6in. width across the transepts; the width of nave and aisles being 65ft. 8in.—The coronation stone was next inspected and Ald. Gould read a Paper on the history of this ancient relic. He said it was not unreasonable to suppose that this was a Druidical altar stone, from its form possibly sacrificial, and that as a sacred character attached to it amongst the ancient Britons, the Saxons preserved and adopted it as a crowning stone. When he came to reside in Kingston, about forty years ago, the coronation stone stood within the gates of the courtyard, close to the walls of the Baths. On the pulling down of the old Town-hall, the stone was removed to this spot for security, and old inhabitants had told him that they could recollect it under the stairs in the old Town-hall. It had been placed there after the falling down of St. Mary's Chapel, adjoining the parish church, where it had always been. The chapel church, where it had always been. perished in 1731, and with it the effigies of the Saxon kings, preserved there with the stone. In 1853, chatting about the stone with an old friend, Mr. Samuel Ranyard, it occurred to them and their antiquarian friend, Mr. Young, that if the stone on which the modern kings and queens of England were crowned was an object of national interest, the stone on which the first kings of all England were crowned was

of still greater historical interest, and they agreed that an effort should be made to give it proper place and prominence. They prepared a scheme, Mr. C. E. Davis prepared a design, their object being to have it strictly in character, but making the surroundings subordinate to the object. Over £ 300 was collected, and, with the consent of the Mayor and Corporation, the stone was placed where they now saw it. Its form was heptagon, Saxon columns and caps, Saxon spearheads and panels, and it served to illustrate the union of the Heptarchy. The stone was fixed on a base of Bath stone, and on each of the seven faces the name and date of one of the kings was shown in lead, and a coin of each reign, given by Mr. Roach Smith, was inserted in a copper tube under the name. The inauguration of the restoration took place in 1854, the day being made a public holiday in the town. The opening was a Masonic ceremony, and the stone was anointed with corn, oil, and wine.

Manchester Literary Club,—November 6.—
Mr. J. H. Nodal in the chair.—Mr. H. H. Howorth

read a short communication on "A Chinese Literary Paradox." He began by explaining the special diff. Paradox." He began by explaining the special diffi-culties which beset the study of the Chinese language, owing to the exceptional character of their written language, with its ideographs varying in significance according to construction and special use, and illustrated this by reference to the "Yi-King." A translation of this work, by Dr. Legge, has been included in the Sacred Books of the East, now in course of publication by the India Office, under the editorial superintendence of Dr. Max Müller. The Book of Changes is universally deemed by the Chinese to be their oldest book, and even Confucius declared that it would take him fifty more years of study before he could understand it. The ablest native scholars have could understand it. The ablest native scholars have tried to explain it intelligibly, but all have failed. Professor Douglas says that probably no book in the world has been so largely commented on as the "Yi-King," and certainly no book has kept its secret so well. As the book is a mystery, it has been treated as a book on divination. Each of its sixty-four chapters is headed with a set of six lines, long and short, arranged in a certain order, and forming a hexagram. This figure is followed in each case by sentences whose meanings are matter of doubt. The attempt to treat them as a continuous narrative, and to extract a definite meaning from them, has proved an utter failure. Here is a specimen:—"The fifth line divided shows its subject keeping his jawbones at rest so that his words are all orderly. Occasion for repentance will disappear." On reading sentence after sentence like this it is clear that there must be some mistake, and that the real clue to the text is lost. Following up a hint from one of the commentators, M. Terrien de la Couperie has come to the conclusion that, instead of a continuous narrative, it is, for the most part, a collection of vocabu-laries explaining the meaning of certain characters, whilst the remainder is made up of ethnographic and geographical lists. M. de la Couperie finds that the characters bear strong resemblance to the ideo-graphs used by the Akkad race, who occupied Baby-lonia in the earliest civilization known in Asia. Among the Accadians we find similar lists of words to those in the "Yi-King;" and, further, it is known

that one branch of them was distinguished by their high cheekbones, oblique eyes, and Chinese features.

THE STATE OF THE S

The Antiquary's Mote-Book.

Dates and Styles of Churches-Wilts (Com-

municated by A. Farquharson).

Trowbridge (St. James' Parish Church).—Built by James Terumber in 1483; pure Perpendicular; chancel, north and south transepts, nave and side aisles, tower with spire 159 feet high, at west end; north, south and west porches. Registers date from Elizabeth Triving a porches. beth. Living, a rectory.

Holy Trinity.—Erected, 1838, by a late rector, the Rev. D. Hastings. Early English; nave, chancel

and two transepts; tower on south side.

St. Thomas'.- Erected by Thomas Clark, William Clark, and Bayfield Clark, to the memory of their father. Consecrated February, 1870. Early English; centre tower, fabric, nave, chancel, and transepts; 66 feet by 55 feet.

St. Stephen's.—Converted to present use in 1860 from a Baptist Chapel. Perpendicular.

Staverton (St. Paul's), Trowbridge.—Rebuilt on old site in 1826. Consists of a body only; no chancel or

Studley (St. John's), Trowbridge.—Early English; built in 1858; nave, chancel, and south porch.

Edington (SS. Mary, Catherine and All Saints). Consecrated by Rob. Wyvil, Bishop of Sarum, 1361; built by William of Edington, Bishop of Winchester and Chancellor of England, who also founded the priory. Church consists of chancel, transepts, nave, and side aisles, south porch, square central tower seven bells, oldest 1640. Transition from Decorated to Perpendicular; extreme length, 160 feet. Fine canopied altar tombs of fourteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Bratton (St. James').—Dated 1340; 55 feet long; chancel, transepts, nave, and side aisles; central tower, four bells, oldest 1587; Decorated style. Re-

gisters, 1542.

Steeple Ashton (St. Mary).—Dated 1480; built chiefly by Robert Long and Walter Lucas, clothiers; pure Perpendicular; fabric consists of chancel, nave with side aisles; at each end of nave aisles are chapels; tower at west end 92 feet high, south porch.

Registers, 1538.

Imber (St.Giles).—Chancel, nave, and side aisles; former rebuilt in Early English style, latter Perpenditure and the style of the cular; font, ancient Norman; tower at west end; five bells; north porch having on it the shield of Hunger-ford, former Lords of the soil.

Stockton (St. John the Baptist).—1170; contains examples of Norman and Early English; consists of chancel, nave with side aisles, north porch, and low west tower. Chancel 16 feet 10 inches by 18 feet 6 inches; nave 36 feet by 38 feet. Chancel separated from nave by wall, pierced by a doorway only, on either side a squint; tower contains four bells, oldest

pre-Reformation; others 1661 and 1684.

Value of Land in Warwickshire.—In the churchyard of Claverdon, a village in Warwickshire, is a monument to one John Matthews, who died in the reign of Henry VII., leaving land in the parish in trust to defray the cost of necessary repairs or enlargement of Claverdon Church. From time to time the rental of the estate has been inscribed on one side of the monument. It is a pity that there are such long gaps in the record, but, imperfect as it is, this table is of great interest as showing the rise that has taken place in the value of land in the last two and a half centuries. It must be remembered that a noble The table is as folis one-third of a pound sterling.

1617 .		- •	12	nobles.
1707 .			£12	
1825 .		•	 £78	
T868 .	-		 £130	

The Old Soke-Mill, Bradford .- In early times each family was provided with a quern or hand-mill in which to grind corn sufficient to supply the needs illustration of its members. The accompanying (fig. 1) represents a hand-mill found by Mr. John

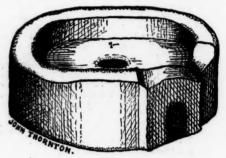


FIG. I.

Thornton upon a small farm called the Nuke, situate near Tewitt Hall at Oakworth. This rude contrivance was, at the period of its discovery, doing duty as a water-trough, and was sunk into the ground. The dimensions are 2ft. 6in. wide and 8in. deep. The



second illustration (fig. 2) represents a quern which found embedded in the banks of the river Wharfe, near Ilkley, by Mr. Staple-ton. These primitive forms of corngrinding gave way to the water-mill. The Bradford sokemill has lately been

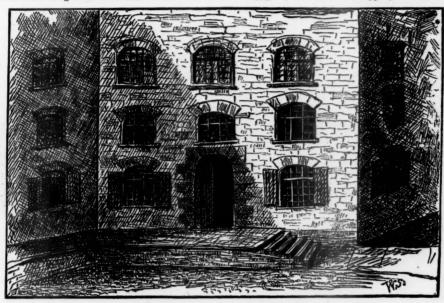
FIG. 2. demolished, and the accompanying illustration (fig. 3) we are able to give through the courtesy of the Bradford Historical Society, who kindly lent the blocks to us, and from

the journal of which we gather the information now given. All the inhabitants in the manor of Bradford, living within two miles of the mill, were bound to grind all the corn, grain, or malt, used by them at the mill, and no one had the right to set up any quern, steel-horse, or hand-mill within the manor, neither had any carrier the right to fetch or carry any corn or grain to any other mill to be there ground. There is mention of two separate buildings at which suit of soke was enforced, "these two corn mills called the Bradford mills, and one mill situate in the east part." This latter mill was doubtless situated on the confluence of the streams coming down from Laister Dyke and Bowling, the former of which must at one time have been considerable. In excavating for a main sewer along Canal Road unmistakable evidence

Antiquarian Rews.

Langley Castle is, we understand, to be gradually restored. It is one of the grandest examples of Decorated Gothic, applied to domestic architecture, to be met with in England. It would appear to have been built late in the 14th century, and already by 1537 we find jt was in almost the same state of semi-ruin that it is to-day.

A hidden treasure, recently brought to light in the demolition of an old house in the Rue Viejlle du Temple, Paris, turns out to be of great value. No fewer than 7,822 gold pieces, intrinsically worth more than £4,000, were found in a copper jar. The coins



ENTRANCE TO OLD SOKE-MILL, BRADFORD.

of this was revealed. In an abstract prepared in 1795, showing the succession of the property, it is stated: "This mill was of no value to the owner, not being thought worth repairing, was scarce of any service to the inhabitants, being only an undershott mill upon a very slender stream, and without much head of water, so that in the summer season it would not be able to grind at all. From the above causes, it is imagined that the owner at that time suffered it to go down." These few facts thus enable us to trace a continued history from primitive times to modern—from the quern-using man to the steam-power man, it might be said—and facts like these are worth preserving.



bear the superscriptions of John the Good, Charles V., Guillaume de Beauregard, Guillaume de la Garde, Raymond III., and several other local rulers, and many of them are exceedingly rare. The coins are being examined by an expert, and will be sold at public auction. The house wherein the discovery was made dated from the 14th century, and had been occupied by the Marquis d'Effat, Marshal of France, and Superintendent of Finance.

The Wentworth Papers, by James J. Cartwright, of Her Majesty's Public Record Office, is in course of publication. Thomas Wentworth, born at Wakefield, in 1672, was the son of Sir William Wentworth, of Northgate Head, and a grand-nephew of the Earl of Strafford. After a distinguished career in the army under William III. and the Duke of Marlborough, he was appointed ambassador to the Court of the first

King of Prussia at Berlin, in 1703. In March, 1711, he was transferred to the Hague, and later in that year the earldom of Strafford was revived in him for his eminent services. He was one of the plenipotentiaries for negotiating the famous Treaty of Utrecht. In addition to the extensive correspondence required by his diplomatic positions, Wentworth carried on a large interchange of letters with his relatives and friends in England, and appears to have been most careful in preserving every document that reached his hands. These Papers, both official and private, fill upwards of 100 volumes; it is from the private, and family portion of them that the present work has been compiled. Among Wentworth's chief private correspondents were his mother Isabella, Lady Wentworth; his wife, Lady Strafford; his brother, Peter; his cousin, the famous Lord Bathurst; and Lord Berkely of Stratton; their letters contain much entertaining matter, illustrative of social, political and literary history, more particularly in Queen Anne's reign, mixed occasionally with references to Yorkshire people and places.

Notwithstanding all that has been done for the preservation of the Jedburgh Abbey within recent years, the tower seems not yet to be in a very satisfactory state, as workmen have been employed for the past fortnight in filling up with cement a number of cracks in the north wall, and otherwise repairing it, so as to

prevent water getting into the masonry.

Llanrhaiadr-yn-Mochnant Church, after having been closed for nearly four years for restoration, was reopened recently. The church is dedicated to St. Dogfan, and consists of one long nave, with gallery, tower, and principal entrance at the west end through the tower, two chancel aisles of three bays, that on the south nearly coeval with the nave, but that on the north perhaps earlier. The roof of the chancel is panelled in oak, with bosses at the intersections, and the wall plate ornamented with the billet and quatrefoils. In the restoration this ceiling has been cleaned and not in any way altered. The font bears the date 1663, the bells 1741, the altar table 1749, the chalice 1693, and the paten 1761. A curious stone coffin lid of an early date was discovered during the progress of the works.

It is only fitting that a great Hellenic explorer should live in an atmosphere redolent of Homer and of Troy. Such an atmosphere is breathed, by Dr. Schliemann. His residence in Athens is a stately marble palace, and over its doors a golden inscription announces that it is the "Hall of Ilium.", Every room in the house commemorates in some way the researches which have invested the name of Schliemann with a halo of romance. The walls are covered with objects, or pictures of objects, found at Mycenæ and Troy, with Pompeiian frescoes, and with mottoes from Homer. The "Hall of Ilium" is of imposing dimensions, for its reception rooms are said to hold 300 guests. In these saloons, every alternate Thursday during the winter, Dr. Schliemann entertains a large assembly of statesmen, journalists, and professors.

While some workmen were engaged digging sand near the site of what is to be the Mansion House of Blairmore, in the parish of Glass, they came on a

stone cist, three feet three inches in length, by twenty-three inches in breadth. It contained the bones of a human body in apparently a good state of preservation, the teeth in the skull being entire, except one which was missing. After being exposed to the air for some time, the bones began to crumble down. There was also an urn quite entire. The grave was about seven feet below the surface. We understand that the workmen had before come on three stone cists while excavating, but there was nothing in them except some charred remains.

Major Davis has written a letter to the Times describing the result of the excavations made on the site of the Roman baths. In it he says :- I may be permitted to say that we have excavated more than sufficient to completely restore the buildings, the masonry standing in situ of a height exceed-ing 10ft. from the floor of the bath; indeed, as at Wroxeter, one of the walls has stood exposed to view little less than 1,800 years. The hall consists of three aisles, the centre being the width of the bath, vaulted by a barrel yault. This vault sprang from an arcade of clustered pilasters, giving seven arches on either side. The pilasters, 2ft. in diameter, of solid block, stand on Attic bases and plain pedestals, the side aisles, or scholæ, were arched and groined, with attached pilasters along the walls and three recesses (exerdae or stibadia) 15ft. wide, on each side of the hall, two being semicircular, and the third and central, square. In the centre bay of the northern arcade is a defaced piece of sculpture, through which ran the water. Underneath the sculpture is a recess in the steps marking the position of a large sarcophagus (now lost), into which the water was first poured, and so overflowed into the bath. The entrance to the great bath is at the western end, by a doorway from a large hall, the precise extent of which is unknown, although I believe I saw its western wall during some excavations I made in 1869. Very fine fragments of architectural sculpture have been obtained, and also pieces of later and more debased character, but the remains generally far surpass anything found in Britain. In 1754 a large bath, but much smaller than this one, was discovered and destroyed, and were excavations still further pursued, there is reason to believe that what has hitherto been discovered is only a fractional portion of what is still buried beneath more modern buildings. Unless further funds are forthcoming, this truly great and almost national work will have to be discontinued, and the undiscovered buildings remain for a future generation to explore.

Just in front of No. 14, Trinity Square, Tower Hill, the Metropolitan Railway Company have sunk a large ventilating shaft. The mould displaced by the rude spade of the railway navvy has not been unfrequently tinged with the blood of Stuart loyalists. The house No. 14 will always be the cynosure of the antiquary and the instructed sightseer. It was here that the victims of the rebellion of 1745, notably Lords Kilmarnock and Balmerino, suffered the condign penalty of their fated devotion. The sheriffs hired the house for the reception of the doomed noblemen, who from its portals were led to the scaffold, "which was thirty yards in front of the house." This spot had been chosen for a scaffold and gallows in the

first year of the reign of Edward VI. The Lord Mayor of the era was as prone to contention as he was proud of these symbols of justice. He complained of the gallows having been erected by royal, and not by civic, authority. He insisted it should be considered the property of the citizens, and be maintained by them and their mayor. His persistency carried the point, and the king allowed the claim, having first excused himself for the improper conduct of his servants.

Kemberton Church has been pulled down and rebuilt. The old church was of a parallelogram form, 30 ft. 6 in. by 18 ft., not including the chancel, and took the place of a still older church, which probably was erected in the fourteenth century. In taking down the present building some very interesting discoveries have been made. The pavement of the old church was laid bare, with its rich tiles illustrating beautiful figures and animals. These tiles have been laid in the chancel of the new building. They are undoubtedly of periods extending over the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. In the stonework there were several fragments of windows (in the tracery), but they were so damaged that it was impossible to do anything with them. One of the most interesting was probably the font, Early English, probably of the beginning of the thirteenth century.

In carrying on the work at Prestwich Church, in connection with the strengthening of the tower foundations, some portions of an earlier church have, we learn, been discovered. One of the stones consists of part of a Norman string course, on which is worked the ornament technically known as the "prismatic billet." The lines are as sharp as on the day the workman finished the carving. The other fragment is part of a moulded arch, unmistakably also of the Norman period. In the present structure there is no vestige of Norman work, the building being mainly of the Perpendicular Period. It may not be out of place here to mention the very curious carvings which exist in the parapet of the tower. They are mainly on the south side, but, being high up, they can hardly be seen from below except through a field-glass. One of the scenes represents a furious combat between a fox and a goose, the fox having made a raid upon the goslings. There are also figures of musicians playing on various kinds of wind instruments, a swan quietly sailing down a stream followed by her cygnets, a man holding a muzzled dog forming a water-spout, and angels bearing shields.

The reconstruction of Mucklestone Parish Church is about to be taken in hand. There has been a church at Mucklestone from the earliest period of local history, and in Saxon times a priest was located there. The fine old Gothic tower is all that remains of the venerable fane, the present nave and chancel being the outcome of the Georgian age. The tower is possessed of no mean historic interest. Tradition says that Queen Margaret stood upon it, and watched the fight between her forces under Lord Audley and those of the enemy under Lord Salisbury, when they met upon the gloomy heath of Blore in 1459.

A mine has been found in the mountain near Salsburgh, Austria, which gives indications of having been occupied and abandoned at least two thousand years ago. It contains a large and confused mass of timbers, which were used for support, and a number of miners' implements. The timbers were notched and sharpened, but were subject to an inundation, and left in confused heaps. The implements were mainly wooden shovels, axe-handles, &c. Among the relics, also, was a basket made of untanned raw hide, a piece of cloth woven of coarse wool, the fibre of which is very even, and still in good preservation, and a torch, bound together with flax fibre. The probabilities are that the ancient salt-miners were overtaken by the flooding of the mine, as mummified bodies have been discovered also. The find seems to have belonged to the pre-Roman times, as the axe-handles were evidently used for bronze axes, specimens of which have been found upon the surface of the mountain. The relics are of a high order, the basket being superior even to some that were used in the early historic times.

The fine old mansion, Grafton Hall, Cheshire, had fallen into a ruinous condition, and for some years past has been undergoing careful and thorough restoration, and large additions have been made, strictly in the spirit and style of the old work. All the finely-carved panelled and moulded wainscotting have been carefully restored and replaced, and the ancient and mediæval spirit of the hall has been retained, and combined with modern ideas of convenience and comfort. This mansion-house and demesne belonged at one time to the Massys of Grafton, from whom it was purchased about the latter end of the sixteenth century, by Sir Peter Warburton, one of his Majesty's justices of the Common Pleas. Sir Peter resided about the year 1589 in a mansion in Watergate Street, Chester, called the "Black Hall," formerly known as the "Grey Friars." He rebuilt and greatly enlarged Grafton Hall, which is a stately mansion with bay windows, gables, tall chimneys and turrets, exhibiting a very fine example of the domestic architecture of the early part of the seventeenth century.

It is interesting to note that while opening the wall of the vestry of St. Mary's Church, Stockport, to examine one of the flues, there was found the ancient entrance, with steps and porch almost perfect, to the parvise or upper chamber of the vestry, a sketch of which was taken, and is now in possession of Mr. H. Heginbotham, J.P., for use in the forthcoming part of the History of Stockport. A certain portion of the ancient chancel, which contains an almost unique specimen of sedilia and piscina, was restored by the late rector some five-and-twenty years ago. During the progress of the work the recumbent effigy of a former rector of Stockport—Richard de Vernon—which was some years ago conveyed to Poynton Church, has been restored by Lord Vernon, and, after undergoing necessary repairs, it has been placed in the same position which it once held within the altar rails.

The town of Northallerton was in a somewhat excited state on the announcement that the youths of the place were going to "ride the stang" for a married man and a woman, who had, it was alleged, eloped, but who returned to their respective homes. The

procession started at the back of the town, near the residence of one of the alleged offenders, but as soon as it reached the main street a number of policemen made a charge at the waggon which contained the effigies of the parties, and after a fierce struggle they succeeded in gaining possession of them, and conveyed them to the police station. After the loss of their effigies the party, which numbered upwards of 600, paraded the streets carrying banners, bearing the inscription "Welcome home, Mary and Thomas," on the route they sang "Home, Sweet Home," with an original chorus appropriate to the runaways.

Captain Conder, R.E., who brought the survey of Western Palestine to a successful issue, set out upon a similar enterprise in Eastern Palestine in the spring of last year, accompanied by Lieutenant Mantell and Messrs. Black and Armstrong. A revolt among the Druses of the Hauran made it necessary to begin in the south; and in spite of difficulties arising with the authorities at Constantinople, a survey was accomplished, extending over 500 square miles, equal to that already done in the west, and which before long will be presented to the public on the scale of one inch to the mile. Canon Tristram has discovered many cromlechs and rude stone monuments. Conder has discovered very many more, establishing the fact that this part of Moab was a great centre of the form of religious worship of which these monuments are the remains. Captain Conder has sug-gested identifications for Baal Peor, the field of Zophim, and other Biblical places previously un-known. He has collected much Arab folk-lore with tribe marks and additions. He has found a most remarkable building of Persian character in Arminan, and has brought home photographs, drawings, and plans of great value. Besides the survey in the East, he has discovered Kadesh, the capital of the Hittites, measured the Siloam tunnel, and planned what he thinks may be nothing less than the real Holy Sepulchre.

An interesting discovery has been made in the course of the excavations in the Forum at Rome. In removing the causeway passing across the area in front of the Arch of Septimus Severus, the remains of an ancient and forgotten church, now recognized as that of Santa Maria in Foro, have been found beneath the road. The church, which is of small size, was constructed within the western porticoes of the Basilica Julia and on the ancient level.

The following archæological specimens have been presented to the Yorkshire Philosophical Society:—
The skull of Theodorianus of Noruentum, taken out of a stone coffin found on the Mount about 1800, by Mr. W. Driffield, Huntington; a Roman urn, ornamented with a hunting scene, found in Blossom Street, by Lady Clark; and two bullets, &c., found at St. Michael-le-Belfrey when it was restored by the Rev. C. B. Norcliffe, Langton.



Correspondence,

MAXWELL OF MUNCHES.

(vi. 86.)

Your correspondent will find some interesting particulars of the early history of Caerlaverock Castle, and of the family of Constable-Maxwell, in Burke's History of the Commoners, vol. i. p. 325, under the heading "Constable-Maxwell, of Everingham and Carlaverock."

A CONTRACTOR OF THE PARTY OF TH

LOUSE HALL, DEVONSHIRE AND OXFORDSHIRE.

(v. 29.)

In some "Devon and Cornwall Notes," which appeared in the May number of THE ANTIQUARY, the Rev. H. Friend mentions having met with the name Louse Hall, near Ashburton, and repeats the accepted tale respecting the origin of the name. Singularly enough, a day or two since, in examining some old books which have lately come into my possession, I found, between the leaves of one of the volumes, a curious old print, the title of which at once recalled to my thoughts Mr. Friend's note as above, and his own communications to me. The print represents an old woman, whose nose and chin nearly meet. She has on her head a tall steeple-crowned hat, underneath which is a linen cap, around her neck a frilled ruff; she has a dark dress, with white apron tied round the waist, and white cuffs. In one hand she holds a drinking cup, and in the other a larger utensil of the same character, not unlike a quart pot. A house is represented partially surrounded by trees, with a green in front, on which are various pedestrians and others, while two persons, who are seen approaching the house, have a somewhat clerical garb. Over the house is the inscription LOUSE HALL, and underneath the picture is the following inscription:—

"Mother Louse, of Louse Hall, Near Oxford.

You laugh now Goodman Two Shoes, but at what? My Grove, my Mansion House, or my dun Hat? Is it for that my loving Chin and Snout Are met, because my Teeth are fallen out? Is it at me, or at my RUFF you titter? Your Grandmother, you Rogue, nere wore a fitter: Is it at Forehead's Wrinkle, or Cheeks' Furrow; Or at my Mouth, so like a Coney-Burrough? Or at those Orient Eyes that nere shed tear, But when the Excisemen come, that's twice a-year? KISS ME and tell me true, and when they fail, Thou shalt have larger Potts and stronger Ale."

Dividing the lines in the centre of the plate is a shield of arms, bearing "Three lice passant," and motto the

of arms, bearing "Inre the passum, and motor the same, crest an ale pot.

It is further stated that the print is "Engraved from the Original Print by David Loggan. Price 7s. 6d. Published by C. Johnson." There is no date. The size of the print is about 10 in. by 7 in. Possibly some of your correspondents may recognize it from the above, and be able to furnish additional in-

formation respecting this Oxford celebrity, and Mr. Friend (who is about to remove to the neighbourhood of Oxford) may find the means to extend his researches in that district.

Plymouth.

W. H. K. WRIGHT, Editor of Western Antiquary.

CHURCHWARDEN'S (OR CONSTABLE'S) ACCOUNTS.

(iv. 231-277, vi. 85.)

I began to despair of getting a satisfactory answer to my queries till QUIDNUNC's letter appeared in

your August part.

I find on reference that he is right in his statement that the Constable's (and not the Churchwarden's) Accounts contain the words which puzzled me, as I have never found them in use (neither written nor spoken) elsewhere. I thank him for his correction, as well as for his lucid explanation.

I have now another inquiry to make, which should perhaps come under the heading of

"PARISH REGISTERS."

In Burn's " Registrum Ecclesiæ Parochialis" (London, 1829), amongst much, often amusing, and always interesting matter, I find the following extract from the Registers of Loughborough:—

"1551. June. The Swat, called New Acquain-

tance, alias Stoupe Knave and Know thy Master, began the 24th of this month."

What is the meaning of this entry?

Considering what a vast amount of general as well as local information these old Parish Accounts and Registers contain, is it not a pity that something cannot be (or is not) done to insure their preservation?

H. C. I.

040 THE GREAT CASE OF THE IMPOSITIONS. (vi. 61-65, 132-4, 230-1.)

Mr. Hall is, I fear, disposed to make short work of me as a trespasser on his own manor. That it is his own manor I readily admit, for he has made it so by his scholarly and patient researches, for which his-torians should owe him a debt of gratitude. But though I would not claim for a moment to compete with Mr. Hall in the knowledge of that intricate subject which he has made his special study, I ventured to question, as I still question, whether he has not, in his righteous zeal against slovenly historians, been unduly harsh in his criticisms on the work of my friend, Professor Stubbs.

It is of the all-important negotiations of 1303 that these two authorities take such diametrically opposite

"In dealing with this "The great object of the Crown was not to get the Crown was not to get "The great object of has stated that the object a present advance on the of this 'colloquium' was to wool customs, but to settle gain the consent of the English merchants to an increase in the custom on wool, woolfells, and leather."—Mr. Hall, ante, Hall, ante, p. 64,

Here, I maintain, Professor Stubbs is right, and Mr. Hall as distinctly wrong. And this I prove (1) by historical evidence—viz., that the Crown's two previous desperate efforts, under the pressure of its financial difficulties, those namely of 1294 and 1297, had both been avowedly and indisputably directed to the same been avowedly and indisputably directed to the same coveted object of "an increase in the custom on wool, woolfells, and leather," and had ignored the "parvæ custumæ." (2) By internal evidence—viz., that, as I have shown (ante, p. 133), the Crown was obviously here endeavouring to purchase this coveted concession by the grant of special privileges, and by "a surrender of its right of impost" for a limited sum, which would, in any case, be "clearly to its disadvantage," and the more so if (as seems here to have been the case) the commutation was based on a low average.* I repeat then that "the commutation of its right of undefined 'prises' on general merchandise for a defined and limited scale was, instead of a gain (as implied by Mr. Hall), an actual loss, not only (as is obvious) in money, but also, and specially, in prerogative" (p. 133). It is Mr. Hall, therefore, and not Professor stubbs, who has "missed the point" of the negotiation, nor has he attempted to reply to me on this question, but contents himself with saying, "I cannot allow that he (Mr. Round) upsets any of my facts."

Again, Mr. Hall says of Professor Stubbs, that is "gravest mistake" is in implying that "any attempt to go beyond it (the fixed prizage) could only be looked on as an unjust and arbitrary extortion (p. 64). On this point I proved that, on Mr. Hall's own showing, his "prizage of wines" was rigidly limited (not indeed by statute, but) by prescription, and that this prescriptive limitation could be traced back to the earliest times of which we have record. To adopt, like himself, an illustration from the income-tax, those with less than £150 income pay nothing, those with more than £150 and less than 400 pay on one scale, and those with more than \$400 pay on one searce and those with more than \$400 on another (compare p. 64). The prizage claimable from any given cargo could be determined as accurately as the tax due from any given income, and

to exact more would, in either case, be "an unjust and arbitrary extortion."

As Mr. Hall admits that he "tried to prove too much," in re the 20s. rate, I need not remind him that he has not rebutted the original evidence I adduced from Irish records.

Again, I ventured to point out that Mr. Hall's statement that-

"In the more authentic of the two last-mentioned instruments, the Crown had reserved its rights to its

* As the prizage on the prizable cask would seem, according to Mr. Hall, to have been worth "at least" 40s.; it will be seen that, taking one cargo with another, 2s. a cask would be a favourable commuta-But, honestly (to quote Mr. Hall's words), "I should be ashamed to confess the time or labour that I have bestowed" on trying to understand his views on prizage and "frectagium" on p. 65, or his explana-tion of them on p. 231. I can only hope that others have been more fortunate.

† I readily admitted that on the particular point of "one cask out of every two," Professor Stubbs was

mistaken.

'ancient aids and prizes due and accustomed.'* Therefore it still enjoyed the custom on wool and hides as regulated in 1275, and it also had the ancient

as regulated in 1275, and it also had the ancient prizage upon wines, and a discretionary toll upon all merchandize" (p. 63), was a non sequitur, as its right. "To 'the custom on wool and hides' was specially and nominatim reserved in a later Article (VII.)." To this Mr. Hall can only retort—"As I mentioned no individual Article (!) of the confirmatio chartarum, I do not see the point of Mr. Round's 'non sequitur." The point that Mr. Hall had here deduced the right to the point that Mr. Hall had here deduced, the right to the "custom" from that to the "aids and prises," is, however, an important one on his showing, for he rightly reminds us (p. 64) that the "distinction between the custom and the prizage was everywhere maintained in contemporary relations."

Lastly, it is a pity that before proclaiming so con-lently—"I cannot see that Mr. Round has made one point, or elucidated a single difficulty," Mr. Hall did not make himself better acquainted with the elementary facts of history. To my hint that "the maltolte of 1297, surely followed 'the episode of the refractory earls' instead of 'producing' it" he briefly retorts that "any decent history will show that 'the maltolte of 1297' was prior to the 'episode of the refractory earls,' and did (inter alia) produce it." Now Professor Stubbs, as will be admitted by all scholars, has made this period pearlingly his own, and it is probable made this period peculiarly his own, and it is probable that (pace Mr. Hall) his history of it is at least a "decent" one. His statements are here supported by abundant references to original authorities, and they are clear. The writs to the Baronage were issued 26th January. The Barons assembled at Salisbury 24th February.† The "episode of the refractory earls" followed almost immediately. "The Council broke up in dismay," and the Barons prepared for war.‡
"The provocation and the exigency of the occasion
were too much for" Edward, and he issued his edict for the seizure and maltolte 23rd April." Mr. Hall will find the same version in the Select Charters (p. 479), or the Early Plantagenets (p. 238). His own version is indeed one of those vulgar errors which he is so laudably eager to correct, and it has been heedlessly accepted by Hume and by Pearson, and also by the much-denounced Hallam. But then, as Mr. Hall severely reminds us, "we, most of us, are content to take our history from the popular historian of the day," and it is to be feared that, in this instance, he must have taken his, from Green's History of the English People.

I regret that it is the opinion of so excellent a scholar "that Mr. Round should have rather wasted his energies," for if I was clearly wrong on some points, Mr. Hall, I would submit, was at fault on others, and it is surely from the friction of conflicting views that we obtain the spark of historic truth.

J. H. ROUND. Brighton. -----

SIR JOHN GAYER.

Will any reader of THE ANTIQUARY give me information about the relations and descendants of Sir

* This is a quotation from Article VI. of the Confirmatio.

+ Const. Hist. iii, 131. ‡ Ib. 133. § 16. 134.

John Gayer, the founder of the "Lion Sermon," preached yearly at the church of S. Katherine Cree, Leadenhall-street. CHARLES F. COLE. CHARLES F. COLE.

Flint Field, Caterham.



BRASSES.

Following the suggestion of Mr. Sparvel-Bayly and the example of Messrs. H. W. Birch and Herbert P. Horne, I beg to supply a list of corrections of recent date to Mr. Haines' "List of Monumental Brasses" in respect of the county of Kent. I shall be glad to supply further corrections for the same county, and for others from time to time.

C. G. R. BIRCH.

Brancaster Rectory.

KENT.

Addington.—Add I. Master Richard Charlis in armour, 1378, lower part of effigy lost, with marg. inscri. S.C. 2. A man in armour, c. 1445, small, inscri. lost, relaid, S.C. 3. Robert Watton, Esq., son and heir of Wm. Watton, Esq., lord of manor and patron of churgh, 1470, in helmet, and wife, Alice, dau. of John Clerk, one of the Barons of the King's Exchequer, S.C.

Aldington.—John Weddeol, gentilman, in armour, 1475, and wife . . . inscri. mutilated. Nave. Ash-by-Wrotham.—1. Richard Galon, rector, hf. eff. 1465. Chancel. 2. Inscription to Wm. Hodsoll

Ash-by-Wrotham.—I. Richard Galon, rector, ht.

eff. 1465. Chancel. 2. Inscription to Wm. Hodsoll
of Southashe, gent. 1586, arms cut in stone. Nave.

Aylesford.—Add Inscription to Patricke Savage,
cook to Sir Wm. Sedley, born in Ireland, dec. at
Aylisford, 1625, æt. 57, left £60 to poor of parish,
£10 to repairs of church, 20 shillings to enlarge ment of Cup for Holy Communion, and 6s. 8d. to buy a cloth for Holy Communion. Nave.

Birling .- Water Mylys, receiver to Lord Burgavenny, 1522, with four sons, marginal inscription. South aisle.

Brabourn. - The date of No. III. is 1524. Brasses all relaid in chancel.

Great Chart.—No. VII. had five wives, whose arms are cut in stone. The three kneeling effigies below are those of his daughters, Ellianor, Bridget, and

Chelsfield .- There is another small priest, c. 1420, loose, with fragments of a marginal inscription in English. In No. I. the crucifix is lost except the base, the whole effigy of S. John and that of S. Mary. Two scrolls remain inscribed "Salus mea x-ts est." No. III. remains, two of the sons being ecclesiastics.

Cheriton .- All are now mural. Chevening.—A modern inscription ascribes the brass mentioned to Griffin Floyd, rector, 1596. Add In-scription to John Lennard, gent. 1556, with shield, now mural. South aisle.

Deal, Upper.—Add Anne, infant child of Thos. Consant, pson of Deale, and Judeth, his wife, 1606. Chancel.

Downe.—Add Man in civil dress, with anelace, and wife, c. 1400, inscri. lost, relaid. Chancel. Perhaps

John Petle and wife Christiana. No. III. has

disappeared.

Farningham .- Add Inscription to Henry Farbrace, M.A., vicar of Farningham and rector of Ightham, who left 40s, annually to the poor of either parish, 1601. Chancel.

Faversham. - Corrections so numerous as to require

separate notice.

Fordwich.—Add Inscription to Catherine, daughter and heir of Wm. Wickham, of South Mimmes, Esq., and wife to Valentine Norton, gent. 1610, æt. 21. Chancel.

Goodnestone.-The effigies of No. II. and III. remain. No. IV. is lost. All brasses relaid north and south in north chancel. The date of No. III.

is 1558.

Harrietsham. - Susanna, wife of Edward Parthoriche, Esquire, 1603, with one son and two daus., qd. pl. kng. mur. South chancel. Inscription to John Griwnell, senior, 1638.

Hardres, Upper.—No. II. eff. lost. No. IV. For Preston, read Paston.

Hever .- No. I. is in chancel. No. IV. mural in t ower. The small cross to Henry Bwllayen has been restored and relaid with the inscription (by a Norfolk artist, c. 1520) close to the tomb of his father (No. II.).

Hoath. — The female effigy of No. II. is now

fastened down.

Horton Kirby.—Add-a lady, c. 1460. South transept. A very good brass.

Hunton .- A civilian, c. 1510.

Hunton.—A civilian, c. 1510.

Leigh.—No. I. is in nave. No. II. in chancel with a shield. No. III. is in chancel on same slab as No. V. engraved, c. 1580. No. IV. cannot be found. No. V. has a recumbent effigy on the same qd. pl. Add Inscription to Stephen Towse, gent., married Ann, widow of Rich. Waller, Esq., of Hall Place, alias Hollingden 1611 mural chancel alias Hollingden, 1611, mural, chancel.

Luddesdown.—A man in armour, legs mutilated, c. 1450, now mural, formerly on an altar tomb.

Perhaps James Montacute, Esq., 1452.

Maidstone, Charles Museum .- I. A priest, with chalice and wafer, c. 1520. 2. A lady, c. 1540.

Minster, Isle of Sheppey.—This very curious brass

has been recently restored by Mr. Waller.

Rainham.-Add III. A female figure, husband lost, with four daughters, c. 1490. Chancel. IV. Wm. Ancher, Esq., 1514, now mural, North Chapel. Inscriptions to 1. James Donet, Esq., 1409. Chancel. 2. A scroll, loose, c. 1500, inscribed "uiuentes in carne orate p defucto quia moriemini." 3. Christopher Garlick, vicar, "inducted into ye cure" 1571, died 1593. Chancel.

Snodland .- Add John, son of "Lancaster Herald, Esq." 1441, head lost, small, now mural. Chancel. The effigies of No. III. are about 1520, and not connected with the inscription to Wm. Tilghman and his

wives, 1541.

Stourmouth .- Wm. Mareys, M.A., "Clericus," Rector, in academical dress, 1472. Chancel. Tilmanstone.—Richard Fogg, Esq., in civil dress,

wife Anna, who placed memorial, one son and three daughters, 1598, kng. mur. Chancel.

Upchurch.-A civilian and wife, hf. effs. c. 1370. North chancel.

Perhaps these few additions to "Haines' Monumental Brasses" may be of use, as none of them are mentioned there.

HERTFORDSHIRE.

Great Amwell, St. John Baptist's.-I. A priest. Formerly on floor of chancel; removed thence in 1838, and screwed to a board; it now hangs on the wall of the nave on the south side of the chancel arch. No inscription. Date about 1400.

II. A man and two wives, with seven children. Man's head, some children, and inscription missing. The effigies of the wives were discovered in 1881 in an old chest in the Vestry, the slab was then taken up from the tower, where it lay before, and fixed in the north wall of the nave. Date about 1500.

III. Discovered at the same time as the effigies in No. II. A Greek inscription and coat-of-arms in memory of Anthony Maukes, a former vicar, on south

wall of nave. Date 1684.

There are also two mural inscriptions of the beginning of this century to former vicars, G. HUSSEY.

Secretary Haileybury Antiq. Soc.

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

Amersham .- All the brasses are now mural. Chicheley.—No. II. is now mural. Newport Pagnell .- The brass is now loose.

MIDDLESEX,

Hackney .- The brasses are now in the N.E. porch of the church.

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.

Higham Ferrers .- Nos. V. and VII are at the vicarage.

SURREY.

Betchworth .- No. I. is now mural. At Wittersham, in Kent, is a small civilian brass. V. W. MAUGHAN

Clapton, 11th Jan. 1882.



WILLIAM WARD, VICAR OF WALSALL, 1571.

The earliest vicar's signature in the parish register is that of William Ward, 1571. I should be glad of any information as to his ancestry and antecedents.

A JESTER'S WAGER.

Can any historical John Timbs inform me of the particulars of, or authorities for, the following: la Bruges (?), a French duke, wagered a sum of money that his jester would eat a shoulder of mutton while the town clock was striking twelve. The feat was accomplished, not without great difficulty. A. B.

The Antiquary Erchange.

Enclose 4d. for the First 12 Words, and 1d. for each Additional Three Words. All replies to a number should be enclosed in a blank envelope, with a loose Stamp,

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